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ABSTRACT

This volume explores issues of scholarship, fiscal policies, and admissions in the higher education of Puerto Ricans, with the emphasis on Puerto Ricans on the U.S. mainland and a particular focus on Puerto Rican admissions to the City University of New York. The first paper, "The Centro's Models of Scholarship: Present Challenges to Twenty Years of Academic Empowerment" by Maria Josefa Canino considers the history of the Centro Puertorriqueno of Hunter College of the City University of New York and its mission for scholarship and the formation of policy related to Puerto Ricans. The second paper, "Puerto Ricans and Fiscal Policies in U.S. Higher Education: The Case of the City University of New York" by Camille Rodriguez and Ramon Bosque-Perez illustrates the interplay between finance and policy and the education of Puerto Ricans. "Latinos and the College Preparatory Initiative" by Camille Rodriguez, Judith Stern Torres, Milga Morales-Nadal, and Sandra Del Valle discusses the College Preparatory Initiative (CPI), a program designed by the City University of New York as a way to strengthen the educational experiences of students. CPI attempts to combine raised academic standards and school/college collaboration to increase the participation and retention of minority students, but it is likely to have adverse effects because of the difficulty students will have in achieving CPI standards before admission. A postscript calls for further efforts by the City University to assist minority students. (Contains nine graphs and references following each paper.) (SLD)

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Higher Education Task Force
Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

Puerto Ricans AND HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES

VOLUME 1

Issues of Scholarship, Fiscal Policies and Admissions

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DISCUSSION SERIES

Edited by Camille Rodríguez & Ramón Bosque-Pérez

August 1994

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DISCUSSION SERIES

Puerto Ricans

AND HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES

VOLUME I

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Note by the editors

The Higher Education Task Force (HETF) is starting the publication of this *Discussion Series* as a way of disseminating written work and promoting debate and exchange. Under the title *Puerto Ricans and Higher Education Policies*, the present volume focuses on issues of scholarship, fiscal policies, and admissions. The three essays included here address an array of policy matters, either state policies that affect the university, or university policies that affect its different sectors. They speak to the level of participation of traditionally excluded groups. A second volume is expected to deal with issues of testing and language.

HETF has conducted research on the condition of Puerto Ricans and other Latinos in higher education, both in the United States and Puerto Rico. Higher education equity was a principal issue for NYC's Puerto Rican and African American communities in the 1960's. Thirty years later and due to significant economic and social changes, access and success in college has taken on heightened significance for historically excluded groups. Higher education is one of the few remaining avenues to socio-economic advancement for those relegated to the economic margins. Within the academy, the cumulative experience over the past three decades points to the precarious presence of Puerto Ricans and African Americans in our colleges and universities. The need is to revisit the discourse on higher education equity, rights and privilege.

Much of the earlier work by the task force documents the significance of CUNY's open admissions policy for the Puerto Rican/Latino population of New York City. The 1976 fiscal crisis represented a turning point that was to place at risk future generations of Puerto Rican students and faculty. Puerto Rican/Latino faculty and community voiced with increasing alarm the erosion

of long fought gains. The recurrent fiscal crisis of the city and the state precipitates constant changes and adjustments in the university. Part of the responsibility of the Higher Education Task Force is to constantly monitor those changing conditions and policies. Accordingly, the Task Force has undertaken data collection, production of analysis on the condition of Puerto Ricans and other Latinos in CUNY, dissemination, and support of other related initiatives.

Our intention is to reach not just academics, but a broad audience within and outside the university. First, because all university sectors, particularly students, should be involved in matters that affect them directly. Second, because higher education issues are an integral part of the larger struggles of our people for equity. With this first volume of our *Discussion Series*, we invite the reader to join the discussion, the debate, and action for change.

Camille Rodríguez
Ramón Bosque-Pérez
Higher Education Task Force
Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños

Preface

The discussion pieces launching this new Centro series speak for themselves so effectively that a preface seems hardly warranted. Still, they do represent an important turning point in the life of the Centro and acknowledge fresh challenges to public higher education within CUNY, the nation at large, and, indeed, on a world scale. As Prof. María Canino reminds us in her presentation at the Centro's twentieth anniversary seminar, the original challenges confronted by newcomers to the university in the '60s have assumed new and seriously menacing forms. The mission and objectives articulated for CUNY's City College in opening ceremonies in 1849, which she cites, seem more remote and unreachable today than at the outset some three decades ago of the most recent drive to secure minority rights in higher education. Those commitments, however, continue to resonate for the numerous among us, who like Prof. Canino, got their first taste of higher learning at CCNY.

> *The free academy is now to go into operation. The experiment is to be tried, whether the highest education can be given to the masses, whether the children of the whole people can be educated, and whether an institution of learning, of the highest grade, can be successfully controlled by the popular will, not by the privileged few, but by the privileged many.*

In fact, numerous authoritative reports from around the country in recent months attest that thirty years of affirmative action in education have left all involved battered and disillusioned despite only marginal gains for the historically excluded. The American Council on Education, the National Science Foundation,

and the National Institutes of Health — are among the responsible institutions manifesting alarm at the limited advances on this front. "Billions for education lost in fraud, waste and abuse," reads one such recent *New York Times* account. To date, the impact of highly touted corporate-school partnerships intended to help disadvantaged youth has also been miniscule. All these reports identify the principal culprits for such disappointing results as the vagueness of goals, the lack of oversight and assessment of programs, and the weak commitment of academic administrators and faculty. This convergent pattern of financial strains, lack of performance evaluations, and low institutional commitment to minority concerns is said to now prevail at every level of government.[1] Unsurprisingly, as Prof. Canino documents, enterprises within the academy, such as the Centro, now face ever more acute demands calling for a renewal of commitments, intensified outreach to students and community, and a redoubling of efforts to monitor university responses from within.

Awareness of these developments and their direct linkage to public budget shortfalls and strategies for managing deficits at every level of government led the Centro in 1991 to concentrate the energies of its Higher Education Task Force (HETF) on fiscal policy. A center development grant obtained through a competition sponsored by the Inter-University Program for Latino Research helped launch the inquiry reported on here by Camille Rodríguez and Ramón Bosque-Pérez. The IUP, which the Centro helped bring into being nearly a decade ago, is a consortium of nine university based research centers. The successful proposal submitted by the Centro spelled out objectives in the following terms:

> *The project proposed here is a pilot study. Its intent is to examine emergent evidence of public higher education inequities newly affecting ethnic and racial minorities. Our contention is that the current fiscal crisis at every level of government is contributing to a shift in the balance of forces from those who believe in an inclusive academy to those who are proponents of an elitist, narrowly meritocratic view. ...the research will probe fiscal processes and decision-making regarding the allocation of university resources at every level in order to identify key points*

for potential intervention. Focusing on equity issues affecting Latinos in New York State during a period of retrenchment, a model for a more precisely focused analysis and political response by those most negatively affected will be produced and offered for application in other settings.

The concerns of this project are thus twofold: (1) What constitutes an academically and fiscally equitable public higher education policy for Puerto Ricans and other Latinos in New York State? (2) How is the actual allocation and distribution of state finances being made for public higher education generally, and specifically for programs with direct impacts on Puerto Rican/Latino programs?

Of course, the HETF team can offer only partial answers to these questions now. Up to now, serious consideration of possible economic and fiscal constraints on the realization of the 1960's scenario for social integration of higher education have simply figured only marginally in public debate. Yet, a burgeoning economic crisis of global dimensions has redefined the basic economic and political parameters of the financing of higher education. These structural changes have brought a new array of interests and traditions into unequal contention within and beyond the academy. Clearly, the unfolding events over recent months confirm the timeliness, urgency and national reach of the Centro's reordering of research priorities.

The most notable outcome of this initiative, however, has been the team's contribution in mobilizing the informational, legal and organizational base for major litigation mounted by a university-wide group in behalf of CUNY. That litigation now figures among the key array of legal challenges to persisting patterns of denial and inequality in education before state and federal judiciaries across the country. Whatever the end result, the suit has also sparked a new vigilance and revitalized the engagement by students, faculty, staff, and community in addressing the financial dilemmas afflicting CUNY.

Fiscal processes, of course, inevitably reach into every aspect of university operations. The announcement by CUNY administrators in April 1992 of a College Preparatory Initiative

(CPI) directly on the heels of the legal challenge in February of that year to the state's funding of higher education necessarily raised complex questions concerning the potential effect of these "reforms" on CUNY students most "at risk." The analysis presented in this volume was prepared for the New York City Board of Education's Latino Commission on Educational Reform and is authored by four persons including a Centro research director, faculty from Brooklyn College and Hostos Community College, and a legal specialist from the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund. As their account conveys, the problems involved are complex, the information base spotty, the discussion contentious, and the rush to action probably premature. In short, the initiative seems to share many of the features noted above in designs advanced over the last thirty years or so to allegedly promote minority academic advancement. As noted in yet another recent report, the narrowness of affirmative action mandates omits numerous areas now perceived as actively discriminatory in their effects. Some, such as testing and language policy, are directly implicated in prospective CPI operations.

In present circumstances, we continue to hear, even the most basic of issues such as access, retention and financial aid remain veiled in secrecy and confusion because of the inadequacy of pertinent data or their privileged or arbitrary treatment.[2] Given the prospect that by early in the next century more than half of the national population under 18 will be minority and more culturally diverse, though largely Latino and Black, a pressing task for concerned scholars such as our authors is to move toward a unified and complementary research and action agenda reaching across all school levels and communities of color. It is increasingly apparent as well, given the changing dynamic of higher education costs, that future research needs to address not only the situation of the poor but also middle class children, youth and families. A principal goal of this series is to delineate a model for this collaborative, comparative enterprise.

Frank Bonilla
Thomas Hunter Professor of Sociology
Hunter College, City University of New York
Summer 1994

Notes

1. See Michael Winerip, *New York Times*, Feb. 2-4, 1994; also Elizabeth Culotta, Ann Gibbons, eds., "Minorities in Science," *Science*, Vol. 258, 13 November 1992; and "New Partnerships: Business Invests in Education," *New York Times Advertising Supplement*, Feb 6, 1994. A detailed account of access, attrition and achievement patterns is given in Deborah J. Carter and Reginald Wilson, *Minorities in Higher Education*, Office of Minorities in Higher Education, American Council on Education, Wash., D.C., 1993.

2. *Black Issues in Higher Education*, Vol. 10, 5, May 6, 1993:3.

The Centro's Models of Scholarship:

Present Challenges to Twenty Years of Academic Empowerment

María Josefa Canino
Rutgers University

This 20th anniversary event structures for all of us yet one more occasion and vehicle for analysis, assessment, affirmation, and acknowledgment. It is a bitter-sweet moment.

Celebratory, because we applaud and honor Frank Bonilla for his untiring, path-breaking and inspired leadership as founding director of the Centro. This 20th anniversary event provides one more opportunity to acknowledge his contribution to our lives- intellectual and professional, individual and collective. We rejoice in our good fortune that we can continue to count with his presence and work as Director of the Inter-University Program for Latino Research. In assuming this latest responsibility, supposedly as a semi-retiree, he assures us of yet another site for grounded insights and thoughtful understandings of the complex interplay and impact of economic, political, and social forces on our communities. Whatever his post-Centro obligations, we will continue to rely on his friendship, his consistent and wise counsel. He has been and is a very special gift.

We gather today as well to salute the departments of Puerto Rican Studies of the City University of New York, community organizations, friends, activists, and most especially the Centro's present and past

Keynote Address delivered at the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños' 20th Anniversary Celebration, October 29, 1993, Hunter College, City University of New York.

staff for creating, nurturing, and developing this venerable research institute, the only university-based center dedicated to the interdisciplinary study of the Puerto Rican experience. The Centro has more than survived these turbulent years. It has **matured** through fiscal crises, economic recessions, changes in college presidents and chancellors, internal and external contentions, and personal losses.

Yet today, we mourn even as we celebrate. The death of Dr. Rosa Torruellas, member of the Centro's Language/Education and Culture Task Forces, friend and colleague, saddens us deeply. But her life and personal struggle must continue to infuse the collective will with her example of doing battle no matter the odds or how painful the sacrifice.

It is against this mix of rejoicing and grieving, that we meet today and tomorrow in panel discussions to extend our analysis and assessments of current conditions in public education; affirm our unique perspectives, assert our differences with those institutional views which resist growth and change, and bring to the discussion as we have in the past, alternative models for the education and development of our communities.

To contextualize the past 30 years of Puerto Rican expectations of City University, it is useful to return to 1849 and the opening ceremonies of the City College (then named the Free Academy). Its first president acknowledged the significance of that moment with this statement:

> *The free academy is now to go into operation. The experiment is to be tried, whether the highest education can be given to the masses, whether the children of the whole people can be educated, and whether an institution of learning, of the highest grade, can be successfully controlled by the popular will, not by the privileged few, but by the privileged many.*[1]

As it had for Jewish men and women and others from New York City's working classes, City College and subsequently CUNY, held out to Puerto Rican and black youth the same promise of a college education and upward mobility.

It is no wonder that they would claim the fulfillment of this promise 120 years after the opening of the Free Academy. Puerto Rican and African American students, angered by the alienating reality of institutional racism and exclusion, and armed with the belief that in New York, primary education through college was a public mandate, made their demands for access to this legacy.

Acquiescence to the establishment of Puerto Rican and Black Studies programs at various CUNY campuses soon followed. The late 1960's and 70's were heady, creative times of confrontation, reform and exploration. I began my university career on both sides of the Hudson: as a Trustee of City University of New York and as a member of the Livingston College faculty, Rutgers- the State University of New Jersey. Both Rutgers and CUNY were in the throes of destabilizing change.

In spite of the difficulty of navigating uncharted terrain, for many academics and students these were times of opportunity for probing common frameworks, for defining questions of immediate import and long-term substance, and exploring the interstices of ethnicity and race, culture and identity, nationalism and social change. The sheer force and dynamic of the decades of the sixties and seventies drove faculty, staff, and students to create Puerto Rican Studies curricula, bilingual programs, professional organizations and educational institutions like El Centro- products of that effervescence.

Puerto Rican and Black Studies led the way for other ethnic, racial, women's, gay and lesbian, and religious studies. Dramatic shifts in Americana Studies as well impacted and changed the United States academic landscape in ways not fully understood. The annals have yet to acknowledge the importance of this social movement in making public colleges and universities more democratic and less unequal than other social institutions.

With the founding of the Centro in 1973 and its growth into a major national research and educational resource, the synergy of these incursions have borne fruit and are at the center of present day university debates. From the political economy of migration, poverty and inequality, higher education and equity, to cultural production and linguistic diversity, community organization and governance, interdisciplinarity and team research, accountability and obligations of the university to disenfranchised constituencies, to community/academic collaborations and advocacy, the Centro's body of work on the Puerto Rican experience has made major inroads and substantive contributions. It has, without question, been at the forefront of new approaches to knowledge construction, disproportionate to its resources and institutional youthfulness.

The Centro has not only developed critical perspectives on theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of the Puerto Rican experience, it has also extended the boundaries of this work in collaboration with research centers and community institutions here and abroad.[2]

But while Puerto Rican Studies and the Centro have been nurtured and constructed, their mission has also had to be defended.

Fully one-fifth of CUNY students are Puerto Rican and Latino, and with blacks and Asians form a majority of the student body. City University has graduated more Puerto Ricans with college degrees than any institution west of Puerto Rico, conferred more masters degrees to African American and Latino graduate students, and awarded doctorates to students from these communities at twice the national average for disciplines in which CUNY awards degrees.[3]

Yet the question posed in the opening of the Free Academy remains in animated suspension: "whether the highest education can be given to the masses, whether the children of the whole people can be educated."

While the gains in CUNY over the past twenty years have been substantial, our losses have also been considerable. It is not hyperbole to observe that in higher education (as is the case in employment, housing, poverty, and health) the most vulnerable sectors of our community are increasingly at risk and moving towards greater inequalities. In all spheres, income disparities are compounded by racial, ethnic, and gender forces.

The evidence points to a rapid erosion of the CUNY mission and a disproportionate impact on Puerto Ricans, Latinos, and African Americans. Our students are threatened with rising tuition, early attrition, lower wages even with college degrees, limited resources (counseling, career guidance, mentoring, scholarships, grants), longer than average number of years to graduate, and continued barriers to the expanding fields and disciplines.[4]

Pereira et al. in a just published study of the 1980 CUNY entering class, document that with respect to obtaining either an A.A., B.A. or higher degree, Asian and white students were most successful in obtaining these objectives, and that the lowest percentages of degree completion were registered by Puerto Rican, Dominican, and African American students. That is, eight years after entering CUNY, only 18.0% of Puerto Rican Students, 17.7% of African Americans, and 20.5% of Dominican students had received an A.A., B.A., or higher.[5]

It should then, perhaps, not have come as a surprise that the Centro was also vulnerable, also at risk, in this period of economic contraction, retrenchment, and reconfiguration.

President LeClerc's decision to dismiss the highly regarded panel of Hunter, Centro, and CUNY academicians, student and community representatives appointed by him to conduct a national search for

Centro director, and to reject their unanimous recommendation of one of the two candidates forwarded, represents a serious setback for the Puerto Rican academic and broader community, and the university itself.

In a press statement issued October 13, 1993, the search process is cited as deficient in that the outcome presented a *fait accompli*, implying that the President had been denied the prerogative of appointing a director from a field of candidates. The communique further impugns the search, by noting that the "selection of a new director must be the result of a process of the highest integrity."[6]

In informal discussions, President LeClerc has made reference to the candidates lack of publications, as precluding an academic appointment at Hunter. A private head-hunting firm has been contracted to assist in a new search. The President has also announced that he has resigned from Hunter to assume a new post in January of 1994.

The ensuing conflict between the Hunter presidency and the "Committee in Support of the Centro" is the most recent of confrontations in the ongoing struggle that has shaped the relationship of the Puerto Rican community to the City University.

It is clear that in discrediting the process, attacking the candidates credentials, delaying announcement of the decision, and deferring resolution of the crisis to a future administration, there can be but one goal: to insure control of the outcome. Accordingly, it is difficult to fault the perception of threat to the autonomy and mission of the Centro. It is an accurate appraisal of the current confrontation.

Of fundamental concern to our discussion of this impasse is, I believe, articulating and defining the relationship between scholarship and advocacy, a link so key to the Centro's founding goals and original mission, that we must reclaim and reaffirm its relevance: the founding goals were:

- To provide for the development and coordination of resources for new and established Puerto Rican programs.
- To organize and direct research on relevant issues for the Puerto Rican Studies programs and the community these serve.
- To develop the facilities and resources for the training of students and faculty.
- To establish effective means of communication and coordination between the Puerto Rican community and CUNY.[7]

From the onset, the founders of the Centro **rejected** the specter of the German academy and its equivalence of merit with scholarship.

The conception of basic research as the one best way to approximate knowledge and the distancing of the academician from the burdens of the everyday world which it presumed, was substituted by a more encompassing model. The Centro model of scholarship more broadly embraced investigation and analysis of new and old concepts and issues of relevant disciplines, in relation to the critical integration and application of useful theories, principles and concepts to an understanding of the Puerto Rican experience. It was a general if silent expectation that scholarship thus framed would serve as an empowering force for reshaping the future of the Puerto Rican community in the university, especially institutions like CUNY; and potentially beyond the confines of academia.

One of the major Centro contributions has precisely been its engagement with the fundamental issues regarding research operations, the role of the university and concerned scholars and the commitment of resources for addressing social problems.

In American higher education, there has always been a tension **between** the German research university model and that of the land grant college tradition of education of undergraduates and of service through applied research **and** the scholarship of action; **between** the education of a male elite of the wealthy classes and the expansive American vision of a mass system of higher education provided as a right not a privilege, and embodied in the 1944 G.I. Bill of Rights.

It is important to note that the period of the 1940's and World War II, was a watershed for the transformation of American academic life. Scientific research and development was placed at the service of government in the name of national defense. "Vannevar Bush of M.I.T. and James Conant of Harvard volunteered the help of the universities in bringing victory to the nation... Academics flocked to Washington to staff the new agencies and federal research grants began to flow. Universities and the nation had joined in common cause. The term 'scholar' in America after this period became firmly ensconced and defined the academic professional."[8] Christopher Jencks and David Reisman declared this "the academic revolution."[9]

Even as the mission of higher education has expanded, the dominant and traditional view in academia is that to be a scholar is to be a researcher. Publications are utilized as the *sine qua non* operational indicator of scholarly production and productivity. In secondary and very distant order of importance is the teaching of students (graduate or undergraduate), professional service, and the integration and application with non-academic communities of this knowledge in the generation of new practice paradigms.

Interestingly enough, when I was hired by Rutgers University in 1970, (and in all probability mine is not an exceptional case), I was recruited to the academy for my experience in organizing, mobilizing, facilitating, and demonstrated leadership in addressing education issues of concern to the Puerto Rican community in the United States. Indeed as Caplow and Mcgee observed in 1958, young faculty were hired as teachers, but eventually evaluated as researchers.[10] It is quite clear and the Puerto Rican experience is a case in point, that the political benefits to the University were the major motivators for opening the institutional gate to "non-traditional" students and faculty, not academic integrity, not the democratization of higher education although it had, in part, that effect, and certainly at that time not with the intellectual mandate to expand the knowledge base of the traditional disciplines which had so glaringly ignored or distorted non-western thought.

As clearly observed by Ernest Lynton, the first Dean of Livingston College, Rutgers University and the man who hired me to head the first Puerto Rican Studies Program in New Jersey, developments after World War II "established too narrow a definition of scholarship and too limited a range of instruction."[11]

Research *per se* was not the problem, but rather that this area of scholarship narrowly defined the mission of higher education, and became the "one best way" to evaluate professorial contributions and the university's role in relation to knowledge production.

Ernest Boyer in the Carnegie Foundation report, *Scholarship Reconsidered; Priorities of the Professorate*, proposes a model with four separate yet overlapping types of scholarship:

- The **scholarship of discovery** comes closest to what academics mean by "basic research." At its best, the scholarship of discovery adds to the store of human knowledge and to the intellectual climate of the college or university. These intellectual workers ask "what is to be known?" Investigative skills are paramount in this tradition.
- The **scholarship of integration**- places connectedness of things in a larger interdisciplinary context, interprets data in a revealing way, educates non-specialists. Here the question asked is what do the findings mean in terms of larger intellectual patterns or paradigms? These workers stress critical analysis and interpretation in order to synthesize learning, design new courses and cross-disciplinary seminars, to participate in curricular and programmatic innovations and interventions such as exemplified in

the design and implementation of Puerto Rican Studies, El Centro and Centro projects.

- The **scholarship of application**- this disciplined form of intellectual work asks "how can knowledge be responsibly applied to consequential problems?" Here the movement toward engagement with social problems as an agenda for investigation tied to one's special field of knowledge is evident. The role of the university **in** the world and **at** the service of the larger community is a central value. Examples of this type of activity are consultation, technical assistance, policy analysis and advocacy, program evaluation, and the like. Boyer states "new intellectual understandings can arise out of the very act of application-whether in medical diagnosis, serving clients in psychotherapy, shaping public policy, creating an architectural design, or working with the public schools. In activities such as these, theory and practice interact, and one renews the other."[12] He adds that such a view of scholarly service is especially needed in the contemporary world of huge and seemingly intractable social problems.
- The **scholarship of teaching**- Aristotle said "teaching is the highest form of understanding." Serious, disciplined study which remains abreast of developments in our fields, and professional activity is at the heart of the type of teaching which creates a bond of commitment to intellectual work. The product of this dynamic exchange is at its best an actively engaged, critical student who can think through a problem on his/her own and continue learning from future inputs. In this process the instructor is also learner, because he or she must be attentive to the particularities and operative levels of this communication and knowledge exchange, while also extending the informational base.

In Boyer's view then, to be a scholar means to acquire knowledge through research, through synthesis, through practice and through teaching. And while these are inseparably tied one to the other, he visualizes scholarship as expressed in a great diversity of talent within the professoriate.

This perspective is not widely shared. Quite to the contrary, as in President LeClerc's case, the richness and diversity of talent which is at the heart of the Carnegie proposal and the Centro's practice, is not recognized or rewarded. Rather, scholarship is confined and delimited, more often than not it is reduced to publications. Such a narrow and static standard, whether or not one agrees with the Boyer categories, fails to acknowledge individualized pace, growth and

development, the value of collaborative work, and the changing patterns and demands of professions and of educators in professional schools. There is serious doubt whether it, in fact, represents a standard that is more honored in the breach at the service of gate-keeping, than in encouraging contributions to the advance of knowledge in a given discipline or field of study.

These are controversial issues. There do not exist objective measures of academic excellence nor assurances that those which we purport to have, assure successful translation of university missions into working, productive programs or creative proposals to address major academic challenges. So much is evident from a cursory review of CUNY's present capability and that of public education in general to educate multi-racial, and multi-national youth from low-income backgrounds.

Once again, we are at the seams of university reform and change. Resistance and concerted efforts to maintain the *status quo* are shrouded in ambiguities such as "academic excellence," "quality education," and "academic integrity." And once again, as is our history in CUNY, **we are challenged to confront these ambiguities earlier, operationalize them sooner than others in the institution.**

The Carnegie proposal is a useful point of departure in this regard. I view it as an instrument to initiate the necessary clarification and accords related to scholarship which, I believe must be constructed internally within El Centro and Puerto Rican Studies, and subsequently with the university, in order to navigate through the cross-fire of competing values, goals, commitments, and expectations, which have surfaced in the present conflict between the Puerto Rican community and Hunter College.

Certainly, Hunter needs to revisit and define its moral authority to apply any standards by which to evaluate the solutions to practical problems in the concrete case of communities like ours. Particularly, if it cannot abide by the outcomes of our representative participation and that of Hunter appointees in duly constituted search committees, or respect the accumulated experience and integrity brought to bear on those academic processes.

We seem to be part of the Hunter and CUNY reality, but not part of the institutional consciousness. If we are a large part of the increasing enrollments then we must become a large part of the degree recipients at the college and graduate programs, and in due time, of all the disciplines and professions. And yes, we must be a large part of the faculty and administration and of the decision making process.

Our own vision of the world cannot be dismissed nor subordinated to that of institutional conventions which are themselves the subject of debate.

As we move forward, then, there are three areas of immediate concern which impinge on the resolution of this impasse, but go beyond the Centro. These require our analysis of and attention to political and legal strategies:

- City University is being rapidly reconfigured and reconstituted, and an increasingly centralized decision-making structure is taking the place of hitherto fragmented processes. The unequal relations of power among the Centro, Hunter, CUNY Central, and the Puerto Rican community, require attention to principled, strategic interventions and the continuous building of coalitions which will preserve the Centro mission above short-term concessions.
- The clash of elitist views vs. democratic perspectives seriously threatens the incorporation of competing views and efforts to gain consensus. The level of our involvement in university debate must remain high, informed, committed, and linked to broad based community efforts.
- Values of effectiveness and public accountability are being supplanted by those of efficiency and productivity, which in turn serve as rationales for downsizing college programs, collapsing or eliminating departments, centers and institutes, "riffing" Latinos and other recent arrivals to academia, and increasing graduation rates by raising admission standards. Strategies such as the recent lawsuit initiated by the *CUNY Concerned Faculty and Staff* directed at state fiscal policies and funding disparities, may hold potential for adjudicating imbalances. (We are indebted to Camille Rodríguez, Centro, and Shelly Weinbaum, CCNY, for their intensely dedicated work on this particular strategy.)[13]

Needless to say, the original challenge which we undertook in the late 60's has assumed some new forms and shapes. But the organizational culture of CUNY and higher education still remains hierarchical, restrictive, and excluding, even while the Centro has made significant headway in providing an alternative model for democratization, diversity, and principled, relevant intellectual work and is nationally and internationally respected for its expertise and competence.

The second question of the free academy experiment begun in 1849 is just as pertinent today: "**whether an institution of learning,**

of the highest grade, can be successfully controlled by the popular will, not by the privileged few, but by the privileged many."

The relationship of the university to the realities of our communities still eludes CUNY even while we point the way. In this regard, the CUNY mission remains in practice, vague and ambiguous. An academically diverse, multicultural, multiracial, pluralistic university simply cannot come into being by fiat or by conforming to past patterns.

Finally, permit me to close on a personal note. For me there is no greater honor, no greater stimulus for generativity than the acknowledgement and legitimation bestowed upon me and in support of the Centro. For this moment in my life, I am deeply grateful.

I hasten to add, however, that which is implicit in the search for a Centro director. Independent of my candidacy or of the individual qualifications of any nominee, what is paramount in this confrontation is the defense and preservation of the Centro mission and the right of its staff, community and other constituencies to participate fully in decisions which affect its future. On this issue there can be no negotiation. Venceremos!

Notes

1. In David Lavin, et al. 1981. *Rights Versus Privilege. The Open Admissions Experiment at the City University of New York*. New York: Free Press.
2. See Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños. 1993. *Annual Report of Centers and Institutes, July 1, 1992 to July 30, 1992*. Internal document, City University of New York; and The Inter-University Program for Latino Research (1988-91). New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños.
3. Camille Rodríguez and Ramón Bosque-Pérez. September 1993. Puerto Ricans and Fiscal Policies in US Higher Education: The Case of the City University of New York. Paper presented at the Association for the Achievement of Cultural Diversity in Higher Education (OpenMind) Conference, New Orleans.
4. See Rodríguez and Bosque-Pérez, ibid.
5. Joseph A. Pereira, Edward S. Cobb, and Hariclia Makoulis. July 1993. *The Nature and Extent of the Undergraduate Educational Experience at the Colleges of the City University of New York: A Comparison of Latino and Non-Latino Subgroups*. New York: Lehman College.
6. Hunter College, CUNY. *Hunter College Statement Regarding Search for Centro Director*. Press Statement, October 13, 1993.
7. *A Proposal for a Center for Puerto Rican Studies and Research at the City University of New York*. Mimeograph. August, 1972.

8. Ernest L. Boyer. 1990. *Scholarship Revisited: Priorities of the Professorate.* Princeton University Press: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. p. 10.
9. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman. 1968. *The Academic Revolution.* New York: Doubleday.
10. In Ernest Boyer. op. cit. p. 11.
11. Ibid. p.13.
12. Ibid. p.23.
13. See *New York Law Journal,* October 18, 1993, p.1.

Puerto Ricans and Fiscal Policies in U.S. Higher Education:

The Case of the City University of New York

Camille Rodríguez & Ramón Bosque-Pérez
Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, CUNY

Cuando la pobreza entra por la puerta,
el amor sale por la ventana.
...refrán puertorriqueño

Background

The mission of the City University of New York (CUNY) was predicated on the principle of providing a quality higher education to the working poor of New York City. From the time of its founding in the mid-1800's, CUNY was acclaimed as the institution that provided equality of higher educational opportunity for the "privileged many as opposed to the privileged few." In the Fall of 1970, an Open Admissions policy was adopted extending CUNY's mission to include disenfranchised communities of color. This policy was the result of both the demands for access by NYC's Black and Puerto Rican

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communities and the anticipated decline of white enrollments (Puerto Rican Students Union 1969; Lavin, Alba and Silberstein 1981; Gorelick 1981). With Open Admissions, all New York City high school graduates were guaranteed a place within the university.

Enrollment jumped from 162,640 students in the fall of 1969 to 253,237 in the fall of 1974. Increasingly, CUNY's student population reflected the school age population of the city. In addition, colleges were added, Black and Puerto Rican faculty and programs were introduced, bilingual programs were opened and support services were augmented (Tabb 1982). The Puerto Rican community experienced significant changes:

> *The increase in the number and percentage of Puerto Ricans attending colleges and universities in the United States during the late 60's and early 70's, a generally expansionary period in the country, was dramatic. Between 1950 and 1970, there had been no increase in the percentage of Puerto Ricans completing four years of college; in fact, there had been a slight decrease. Yet after 1970 and up to 1976, the increases in educational attainment accelerated greatly. United States Census data on years of school completed for Puerto Rican shows that in 1950, 1.95% of all Puerto Ricans in the United States, 25 years or older, had completed four years of college. In 1970, the figure was 1.79%, reflecting no change over a 20-year period. In 1976, according to the United States Civil Service Commission, 6% of Puerto Rican males and 4% of Puerto Rican females between 25 and 29 years of age had completed 4 years of college (Nieves 1979, p. 2).*

While New York City's white population continued to have substantial access, New York City's Puerto Rican community began generating, for the first time, a cadre of teachers, lawyers, and other professionals. Open admissions to the City University of New York represented a strong democratizing thrust in US higher education and a significant avenue of social advancement for New York's Puerto Rican/Latino community. Although African Americans and Puerto Ricans gained increased access to CUNY, other groups benefitted the most. Early studies reported that one of the greatest beneficiaries of Open Admissions were whites, specifically Catholic ethnics and Jews (Nieves 1979).

The New York City fiscal crisis of 1976 jolted this expansive trend. First, CUNY's 129 year old tuition free policy was abandoned. Fiscal

responsibility for the university's senior colleges was shifted from New York City to New York State. From Fall 1975 to Fall 1978 overall student body declined by 30% (Nieves 1979). The impact on Puerto Rican and African American students and faculty was pronounced. Black and Latino first-year enrollments dropped by over 50% between 1976 and 1980 (Tabb 1982). In addition, 6 of 17 Puerto Rican Studies programs and departments were eliminated and Puerto Rican instructional staff fell from 303 full-time faculty in 1975 to 165 in 1986 (Rodríguez-Fraticelli 1989).

This proved to be the first in several waves of contraction that altered the way the university could meet its mission. In addition, the 1980's ushered in an ideological shift that served to define the parameters of CUNY's budget in subsequent years. The CUNY experience was replicated in almost every state in the union. Public higher education institutions were experiencing financial crisis and the privates were not far behind. In all instances, the most vulnerable populations (poor students of color) are being disproportionately affected.

The National Context

Public higher education institutions nationwide have been experiencing severe fiscal challenges since the late 1960's. In terms of their share of state budget allocations, they have been losing ground constantly. A recent analysis, summarized the trend:

> *Since 1968 public institutions of higher education have been crowded out of state budget priorities. Shares of state resources previously allocated to higher education have been reallocated into prisons, welfare, Medicaid, K-12 education, and other apparently more pressing state needs. As a result of insufficient state appropriations to cover inflation, enrollment growth and quality improvements, tuitions have been raised to make up for otherwise inadequate funding from the states (Mortenson 1993c).*

During the last few years, for instance, for the states overall, corrections has been receiving more new state dollars than higher education. Of 38 states reporting spending decisions at the time of the study, eighteen states increased funding for corrections more than for higher education. The trend is expected to continue. An analysis of funding priorities in state budgets for the 1994 fiscal year shows a continued tendency away from higher education and in favor of other areas (Mortenson 1993c).

But usually these overall summaries are not enough to illustrate the impact at the state and institutional level. A publication circulated in 1993 by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) on fighting state budget cuts in higher education presents a dramatic picture of what specific states are facing:

- Between 1988 and 1992, the state budget for higher education in Massachusetts was actually cut in half, taking inflation into account.
- In 1992, the community colleges of California turned away more than 100,000 students because of lack of available classes, with an additional 11.1 percent cut proposed for the next fiscal year.
- In 1991, public colleges in Virginia were asked to swallow three successive 5 percent budget reductions in the same fiscal year.
- In Illinois, the state used to pay 50 percent of the cost of community colleges; today the state share is down to 26 percent.
- Ten years ago, higher education in New Jersey was awarded nearly 10 percent of the budget, and prisons received less than 2 percent. If current trends continue, New Jersey will soon spend more to keep men and women behind bars than in colleges.

How resources are allocated **within** the institutions of higher education is also important. The tendencies of the 1980's have been described as a deeper process of restructuring, rather than mere retrenchment. "Resources are not simply being cut back, they are being reallocated within the university, and new resources are being concentrated on the same areas that are already resource rich" (Slaughter 1993). That is, the institution is being reconfigured through redirection of funds from some programs to others. According to this analyst, authority for restructuring was concentrated heavily on management. University managers used a rhetoric similar to that of corporate Chief Executive Officers (CEO) as "they justified their cuts in terms of crisis, the need for greater productivity and greater competitiveness."

Of course, different sectors, fields, and programs, are being affected differently by these tactics. Slaughter notes:

> *The fields that were cut became "have-not" fields within the university. They were generally fields marked by low faculty pay, high student loads, at least after 1984, and high use of part-time or off-track labor. These fields had a relatively high presence of women faculty, although the women were frequently at junior levels or in off-track or part-time positions. The clientele of these fields had an unusually high proportion*

of women students. The faculty in these areas, whether on or off-track, whether male or female, seem to become the second tier of a two-tier labor force within the university. The development of a two-tier labor force is very likely to undermine collegial structures and relationships because differentials in power between "haves" and "have-nots' turn governance for the university as a whole into an exercise in conflict over unequal resources.

The impact on students, particularly on poor and traditionally excluded and underrepresented sectors, has been dramatic. One of the many mechanisms used by public higher education institutions to face the deterioration in state support has been the imposition of enrollment limits. A survey conducted by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) in 1993, found that "30.4 percent of responding institutions had established enrollment limits" (Mortenson 1993c). The way in which those limits are imposed, as Mortenson notes, "usually by raising admission requirements" affects in a disproportionate way "the least represented populations in higher education" (pp. 6-9).

The New York Setting

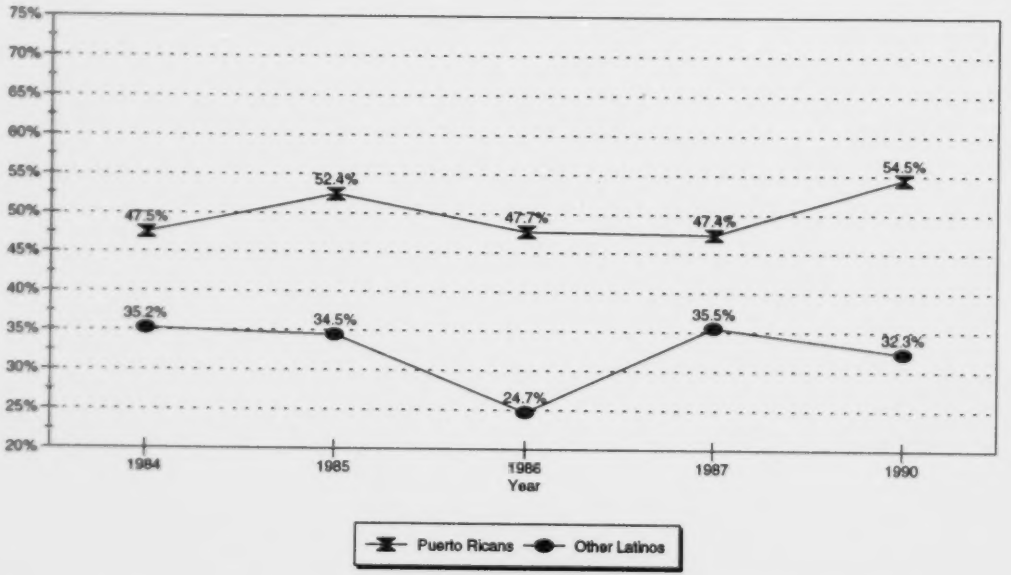
In New York, as in many other states, fiscal crises have forced dramatic budget cuts that hit hard at higher education institutions. The erosion of educational programs that serve the poor coincides with a further deterioration of their living conditions- particularly the traditional minorities, i.e. African Americans, Latinos and Native Americans. Recent Census Bureau studies have consistently indicated a trend towards growing inequality in the United States. The escalating crisis in health, housing and employment adds new dimensions to the already critical situation of poverty (Meléndez, Rodríguez and Figueroa 1991; Morales and Bonilla 1993).

With many cities and regions in the United States moving inexorably toward the point at which traditional minorities will become more than half of the population, it is natural that the demand for services by minority peoples, including the demand for higher education, should keep expanding. The alarming fact is that U.S. society seems to be moving toward further inequality and disenfranchisement of Latinos, African Americans and other minorities (see Graphs 1 and 2 for poverty rates in New York City). At the university level, the programs and initiatives that serve these populations face devastating cuts or have been allowed to stagnate.

Graph 1

Poverty Rates for NY City, 1984-90

Puerto Ricans vs. Other Latinos

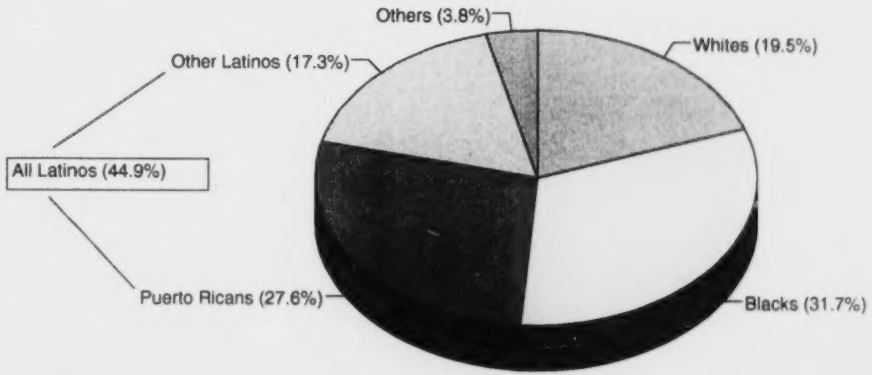


Source: Institute for Puerto Rican Policy. Puerto Ricans and Other Latinos in New York City Today: A Statistical Profile.

Graph 2

Poor Persons in New York City, 1990

Racial-Ethnic Breakdown



Source: Institute for Puerto Rican Policy. Puerto Ricans and Other Latinos in New York City Today: A Statistical Profile

The weight of economic forces and processes, however, is just part of the picture. A well-financed counter-offensive by conservative forces in the United States has opened breaches in previous gains by democratic reformists. During recent years, almost every single achievement over previous decades has been under attack: from ethnic studies to affirmative action programs; from cultural diversity initiatives to minority fellowships. Colleges and universities are at the center of this contention. They play a key role as producers of technical and scientific knowledge as well as producers of ideologies and ideologues. Therefore, universities become an important terrain wherein democratic perspectives on higher education clash in new ways with elitist views.

While the ideological struggles around these issues remain central in policy and media discourse, it is no longer enough to argue for minority rights in higher education only on the basis of academic values and ideals of equity and moral justice. A new kind of response is necessary in the present fiscal climate and conditions. A deep understanding of the intricacies of the decision-making process at every level of government and within the university is essential in order to influence such processes, defend gains presently being challenged, and create conditions for urgently needed new initiatives. The State of New York, with two of the largest public university systems in the United States, with a large Latino and African American population, and a process of deep fiscal retrenchment currently underway, presents ideal conditions for the implementation of a study that may eventually serve as a model for a nation-wide Latino response to the present crisis.

The following graphs provide snapshots of the racial/ethnic composition of the New York City general population (Graph 3), the public school student population (Graph 4), a view of the ethnic configuration of one flagship campus of the City University of New York, twenty years after Open Admissions, specifically for entering undergraduate students (Graph 5) and first-year graduate students (Graph 6). Graph 7 presents changes in the ethnic background of the full professors at the same college from 1978 to 1990.

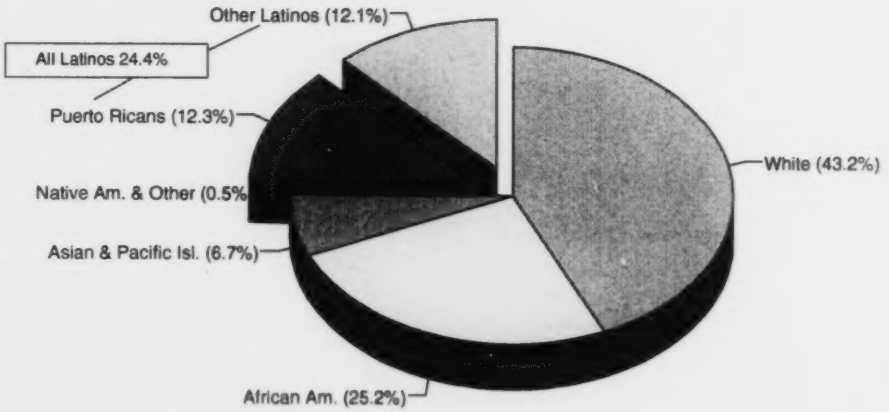
The Importance of CUNY

CUNY's tradition of providing a curriculum relevant to the city's needs while meeting the social concerns of its working class both challenged prevailing views and fostered alternatives in US higher education. This mission never went unchallenged (Nieves 1979;

Graph 3

New York City Population

Ethnic Breakdown, 1990

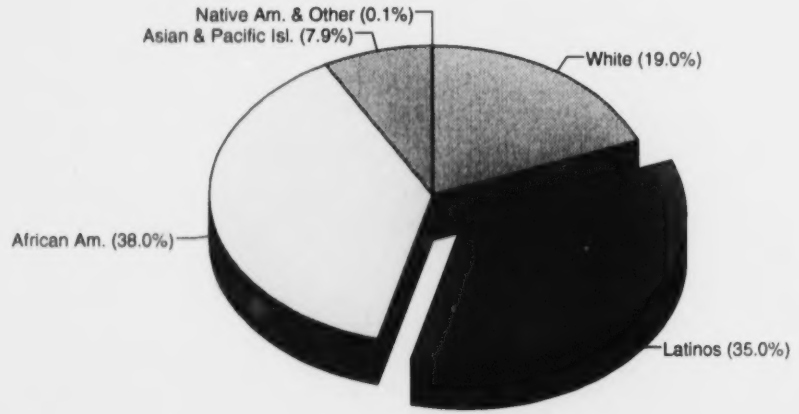


Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990.

Graph 4

NYC Public School Population, All levels

Annual Pupil Ethnic Census, October 1990

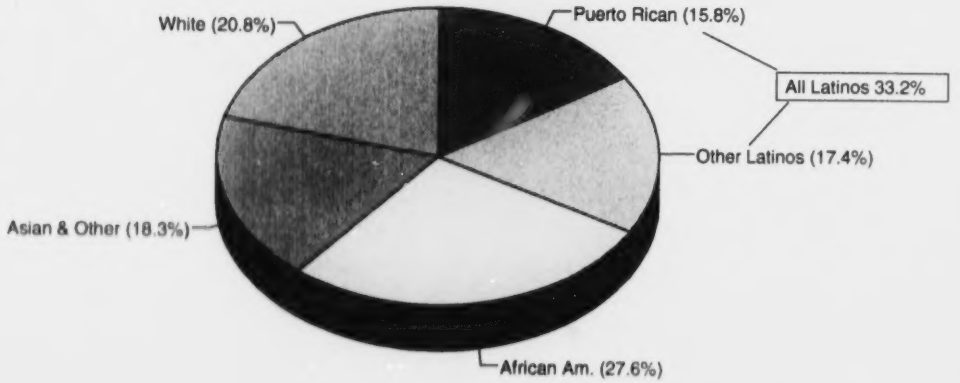


Source: NYC Public Schools, Division of Strategic Planning, Office of Educational Data Services.

Graph 5

Ethnic Breakdown of First-Year Undergraduates

Hunter College, CUNY - Fall 1991

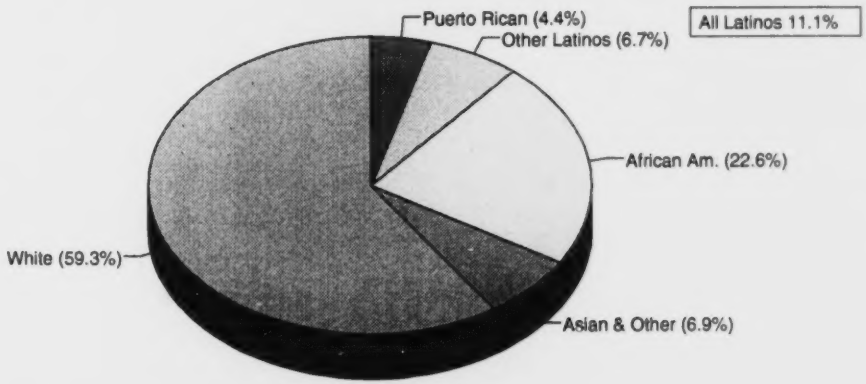


Source: Hunter College, CUNY Student Profile, 1987-1992

Graph 6

Ethnic Breakdown of First-Year Graduate Students

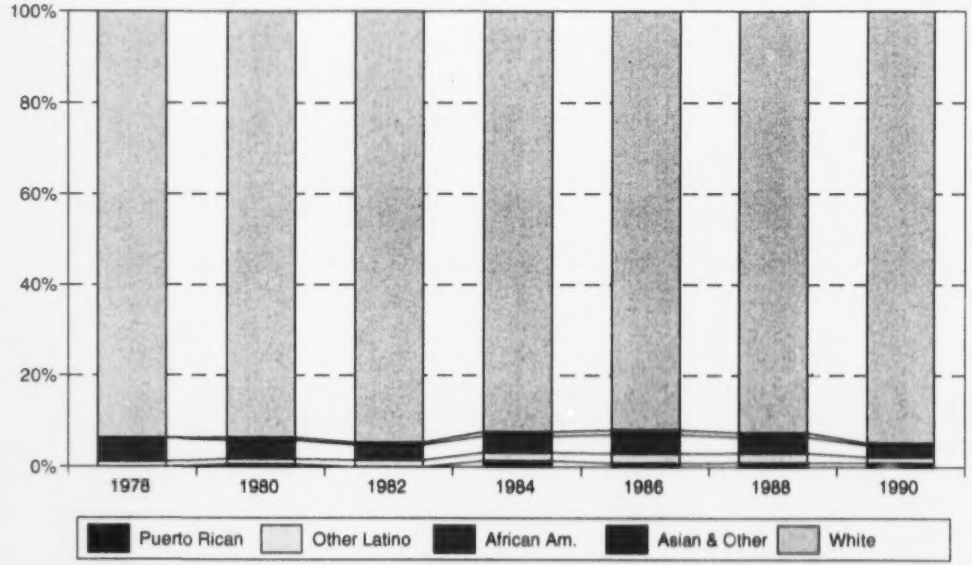
Hunter College, CUNY - Fall



Source: Hunter College, CUNY. Student Profile, 1987-1992

Graph 7

Ethnicity of Full Professors, Hunter College, 1978-90



Source: CUNY Affirmative Action Reports, 1977 to 1992.

Gorelick 1981). Yet, CUNY's alumni include: eleven who are Nobel laureates --more than any other public university in the nation; thirty-two members of the New York State legislature --more than any other university in the state; and in 1990, CUNY was the number one undergraduate source of business executives in the nation (CUNY Office of University Relations 1991). Today, CUNY remains one of the most important higher education systems for communities of color, the working poor, immigrants and women who are grossly underrepresented elsewhere in the academy. CUNY reports that it is the largest source of Master's degrees for African Americans and Latinos in the U.S. Over the past five years, CUNY has awarded doctorates to African Americans and Latinos at a rate twice the national average for the disciplines in which CUNY awards degrees. Nearly half of CUNY's doctoral students and 60% of CUNY's master degree students are women (CUNY 1991).

For Puerto Ricans and others steered into the declining sectors of the economy, higher education is no longer an option but an imperative in order to make a livable wage. In the 1950's, the labor force participation rates for African Americans and Puerto Ricans was higher than the average New York City worker. By the 1980's, the labor force participation rates for Puerto Ricans and African Americans was one of the lowest (Meléndez, Rodríguez and Figueroa 1991).

The economy exerts downward pressures on traditional labor and increasingly favors the highly skilled with more certification. Just in the last twenty years, it is reported that the median earning power of male high school drop-outs plunged from $20,371 in 1973 to $12,990 in 1987. The median earnings for male high school graduates (24-34 years old) dropped from $24,482 in 1973 to $18,366 in 1987. Only male college graduates experienced modest increases (Murnane and Levy 1993). This does not take into account that the average earnings of African Americans, Puerto Ricans, other Latinos and women have been, and continue to be, well below those of all other workers (Morales and Bonilla 1993).

Reconfiguration of the University

As the changing economy produced a declining standard of living and deteriorating quality of life for increasing sectors of the general population, the demand for a low cost higher education soared. In 1990, CUNY enrollments exceeded 200,000, the highest since 1976, while at the same time a precipitous decline in its budget continued. While all institutions of higher education in the State were weather-

ing serious contractions, it appeared that CUNY was being disproportionately affected at a point when CUNY was most needed by the city's vulnerable populations:

- CUNY's free tuition policy was abandoned after existing for 129 years and through many contractions and expansions in the economy including the Great Depression.
- In the mid '70's, CUNY instituted a testing program in reading, writing and math (Skills Assessment Tests) that served as a gatekeeping mechanism barring many students from credit-bearing courses (Otheguy 1990).
- Between 1980 and 1988, CUNY's entering classes decreased from 31,573 students to 27,609 students with Puerto Ricans decreasing by 32%, African Americans by 19%, Whites by 17%, and other Latinos by 13% (Pereira, Cobb, and Makoulis 1993).
- Programs targeting the most vulnerable sectors of the student populations have eroded. These include ethnic studies and support services (Rodriguez-Fraticelli 1989). On one flagship campus, there is one full-time counselor for every 1,750 students (Sherrill 1993).
- Financial aid has shifted from grants to loans while tuition and related costs continue to spiral upward (Mortenson 1990; Hauptman 1990).
- There are fewer full-time positions available for younger faculty. The impact is to stall and reverse efforts to reflect diversity in the instructional staff.
- CUNY relies increasingly on part-time faculty who are underpaid, short-term and unable to provide continuity and support to students.
- Larger class sizes discourage teaching practices that enhance learning as in discussions, student presentations, essay writing and mentoring.
- Fewer class sections are available in required courses; there are reduced library hours as well as outdated labs and equipment.
- Increased high school requirements for entering CUNY have been inaugurated at a time when the New York City public school system is experiencing a crisis in resources and public confidence.
- An effort is underway to centralize and consolidate departments and programs currently distributed through CUNY's nineteen campuses in the five boroughs (Goldstein 1992).

Just as minority communities experienced a crushing downward mobility, reduced State allocations to CUNY promoted overt and

subtle policies that were to place students from these communities at even greater risk. CUNY's drop-out figures are considered deplorable (Pereira, et al. 1993). A disaggregation of CUNY's 1980 cohort reveals that **after eight years**:

- Only 25.9% of Asian students attained a BA or higher.
- Only 22.2% of White students attained a BA or higher.
- Only 13.4% of Black West Indian students attained a BA or higher.
- Only 10.4% of other Latino students (non-Puerto Rican or Dominican) attained a BA or higher.
- Only 7% of African American students attained a BA or higher.
- Only 6.7% of Dominican students attained a BA or higher.
- Only 6.7% of Puerto Rican students attained a BA or higher.

Many have argued that these students are ill-prepared for college and work. Others say that students are caught between the need for an education and the need to work. Within this debate, too little attention is paid to the disparate treatment of the New York City school system and the City University system when compared to other systems in the State.

Toward a Response: A Probe of Fiscal Processes

In response to the precarious presence of Puerto Ricans in CUNY, the Centro's Higher Education Task Force, with support from the Inter-University Program for Latino Research, initiated a pilot study that is focusing on equity issues affecting Latinos in New York State during a period of retrenchment. The main goal was to examine emergent evidence of public higher education inequities newly affecting ethnic and racial minorities. Concurrent with such examination we proposed the development and testing of a research plan for a larger scale initiative.

The purpose of this effort was to probe fiscal processes and decision-making in the allocation of university resources at every level in order to identify key points for potential intervention. We brought together theoretical and practical considerations from various disciplines such as education, sociology, political science, public administration (public policy and finance), law, as well as from less utilized perspectives like community advocacy.

Thus far we have concentrated our efforts on: data collection activities; review of literature and relevant documents; group discussions; informal interviews with state, city, and university officials; production of summaries and charts; identification of consultants; and production of a preliminary general assessment of the problem.

As anticipated, in our data gathering activities we targeted the state and city governments, CUNY and other higher education institutions, labor unions, student and community organizations, and other institutions. The data being collected include, among other things, laws, resolutions, legislative studies and reports; City University (CUNY) and State University (SUNY) budgets, Master Plans, Board of Trustees minutes and resolutions, policy declarations; faculty/staff, student, and community organizations' responses to the process of allocation of resources to higher education; and similar documentation.

In order to gain a full understanding of the budget processes in the state, we began developing a map identifying the structures and key players. The map attempts to cover all levels: the juridical basis of the state budget system; the role of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches; the role of the Education Department; public and private higher education institutions; organizations at the college and community level. A schematic representation of the map is being prepared.

One major problem we encountered, thus far, is related to access and availability of data. The data available, in many cases, are not disaggregated for racial/ethnic groups and even less for specific Latino groups. In addition, most of the data are not available on a timely basis. Many reports on enrollment, use of financial aid programs, etc. are only available after a two to four year wait. One such case is the *CUNY Data Book* which includes statistics on enrollment and other areas by college, level, gender, socio-economic background, etc. We have in hand only sections of the 1988 *Data Book*. In some cases, the issue seems to be one of access rather than availability. Some institutions and state agencies are certainly more forthcoming than others when responding to specific data requests. Recently, we had to invoke the Freedom of Information Act in order to get affirmative action data from a CUNY college.

Preliminary Assessment

Educational institutions, and particularly public higher education institutions, show in very dramatic ways the tensions that exist between economic imperatives and the imperatives of democracy. Martin Carnoy and Henry M. Levin suggest that a collision between "the unequal relation underlying capitalist production and the democratic basis of the liberal capitalist State" takes place in schools. Public institutions in particular, are open to pressures that are the result of

structural changes in the economy, the conflicts between capital and labor, and social movements seeking greater equality. "Even as schools attempt to satisfy their mandate within a capitalist economy, the public as a whole and social movements such as the civil rights and women's movements have made them more democratic and equal than other social institutions" (1985: 4). This suggests that the space to exert influence and promote change is probably greater than in other institutions. One of our priorities is to systematically explore those spaces and identify points of intervention in regard to equity and fiscal processes in higher education. The point of departure needs to be a careful assessment of present conditions.

As noted, recent trends in higher education has been a movement toward greater inequality. More than ever before, the probabilities that someone will finish a bachelors degree by age 24 are connected to his/her family income level. As one commentator put it recently, "one's chances for earning a baccalaureate degree by age 24 has never been so unequal across family income quartiles" (Mortenson, 1993a). According to that report, the chances for persons from the lowest family income quartile (below $21,539) are at one of the lowest points ever, while the chances for the highest family income quartile (above $61,636) are higher than ever before (see Graph 8). "In 1991 an individual's chances for earning a baccalaureate degree by age 24 ranged from about 5 percent for those in the bottom quartile, to about 64 percent for those from the top quartile" (p. 6). "Roughly speaking, one's chances for earning a baccalaureate degree by age 24 doubled (from each) quartile of family income..." to the next. Thus while the bottom quartile's chances are about 5 percent, for the second quartile chances are over 10 percent, for the third they are over 20 percent, and for the top quartile chances are just above 60 percent.

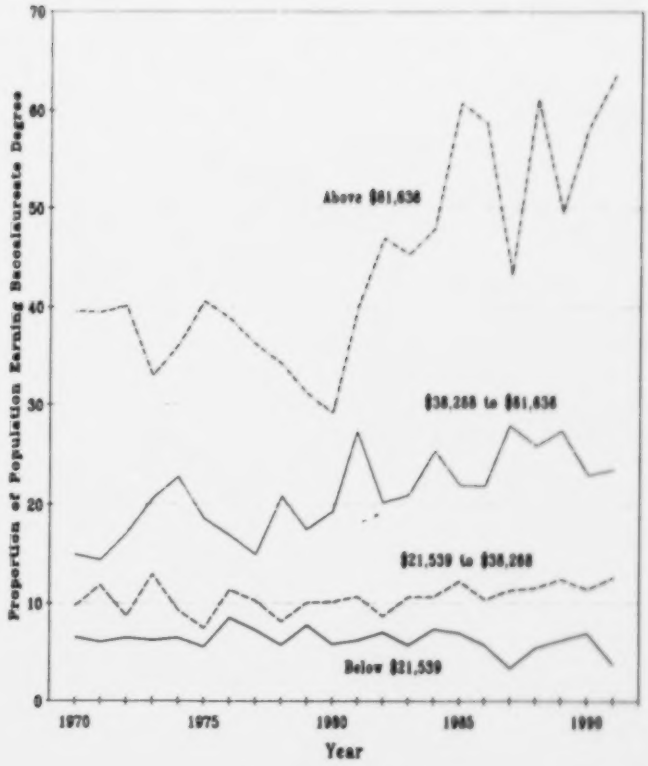
The impact of income disparities is compounded by ethnic/racial inequality. In 1989, the chances of a white person being at the bottom or the top quartile of family income were about the same. Asians and Native Americans were "three times more likely to be in the bottom than top quartiles." Latinos were six times more likely to be in the bottom quartile, and African Americans were twelve time more likely (Mortenson, 1993a).

The growing inequality across income levels and ethnic groups is paired with decreasing financial support to higher education by the states. The same report quoted above, shows that higher education's share of state budgets continues to drop while other areas like corrections continue to get larger shares of state resources (Mortenson,

Graph 8

Estimated Chances for a Baccalaureate Degree by Age 24 by Family Income Quartile

1970 to 1991



Source: Postsecondary Education Opportunity Newsletter, March 1993

1993b). New York is one of those states giving a larger share to prisons and a smaller one to higher education. A New York state Senator presents the following data: "Dramatic increases in real dollars spent on New York prisons --over 270 percent in the last ten years after being adjusted for inflation-- contrast sharply with the cuts in funding for higher education --a real dollar decline of eight percent" (Leichter 1993, p. 1). He summarizes in this way the contradiction between the increasing priority given to the prison system and the diminishing support given to a higher education system that faces growing demands: "... what about the nearly 60,000 more [students] who will be applying by 1996? Perhaps they should apply to the prison system, where, no doubt, their incarceration would be lavishly funded" (p. 9).

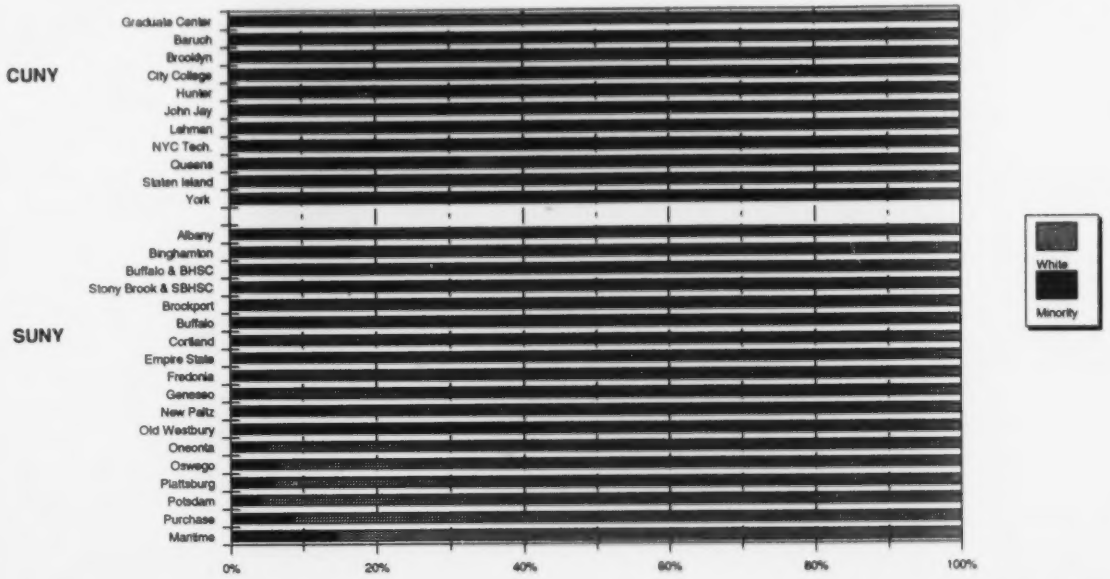
New York State higher education politics unfold as a competition among three main sectors. The private sector is represented by the Council of Independent Colleges and Universities and has traditionally received a great deal of support from upstate legislators. The State University of New York, the largest public university system in the nation, has had consistent support from the Governor's Office. Support for the City University of New York, the nation's third largest public university, has largely come from the downstate legislators.

State financial support to students declined overall. The private universities are finding it increasingly difficult to recruit Latino and other students of color because of the reduced aid available to offset their high tuition. The public universities have experienced repeated waves of tuition increases forcing many Latino students to abandon a full-time course load (see Graph 9). A part-time course load reduces their eligibility for state financial support. The remaining Latino students are increasingly from the more affluent sectors with a reported decline of Latino students from the inner cities.

State policymaking bodies appear unable and unprepared to meet the higher educational needs of its poorer constituencies. For instance, projected enrollments fell far short of the demand for an education at all levels. On both the primary/secondary level and postsecondary level, enrollments for 1992 have surpassed figures projected for the year 2000. In addition, the State Education Department, in its oversight role, provides few opportunities for its primary and secondary division and higher education division to develop a coordinated agenda. While the public universities are being pressured to get out of the remediation business, the state has yet to resolve inequities in the delivery of primary and secondary educational services to poor communities of color.

Graph 9

Student Racial/Ethnic Distribution, 1990



Source: CUNY Legal Action Committee Newsletter, October 1992.

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Budgets

Budgets are in fact political statements of public needs and priorities. As political statements, they are sensitive to prevailing public opinion. Therefore, budgets become indicative of the relative political strengths of particular constituencies. Within this framework, twenty years of New York State budgets suggest a waning interest in public higher education and the needs of poor people of color. Both factors combined have produced discouraging outcomes for Latinos and others in the City University of New York.

For much of this century, New York State higher education received increasing support from the three levels of government: federal, state and local. The "new federalism" of the Reagan-Bush era dramatically reduced federal support and shifted much of the burden to the state. In addition, local governments turned to the state to alleviate growing fiscal shortages. The state became the predominant focus of higher education funding as it struggles with its own eroding economic base.

In an effort to address these problems, our research in progress has focused on the budget decision-making process. A critical arena yet to be adequately treated is the economic context within which budgets are constructed. This suggests the need to further investigate the revenue side and the complex and shifting tax burdens borne by different sectors of the state population. The expenditure side, of course, presents another fertile arena of investigation. Of particular concern is the increased use of freezes, midyear adjustments, and caps as ways of reducing future budgets and downsizing institutions.

In mapping the budget process, we are focusing on "clusters of decision-making" that flow one from the other. The clusters include the NYS executive branch, legislative and judicial branches; NYC executive, legislative and county governments; the CUNY Board of Trustees and Central Administration, the CUNY colleges and faculty bodies. At every level, key actors are being identified and the protocol of activities are catalogued to better comprehend the degree to which Latino higher education interests may be affected.

New York State has in place an executive-dominated budget process. While legislative input is significant, state representatives do not have the same technical expertise available to the executive branch in constructing or reviewing budgets. In addition, the budget process is quite fluid and bi-directional depending on anticipated revenues. The probability of successful initiatives emerging from programs and departments tends to increase during periods of pros-

perity. During periods of fiscal stringency, policies are imposed from above. While consultation may be on-going at every level, it is, in fact, a "managed consultation" with specific controls in place to limit options and outcomes.

Government requirements in part dictate university accounting procedures. Both New York State public university systems (CUNY and SUNY) standardize records according to General Accounting and Audit Procedures. Yet, there remains a great deal of variation and interpretation of specific categories of expenditures between the two public systems. Much of this is based on different traditions and views of where expenditure categories belong. This makes it difficult though not impossible to compare the two systems. Some key characteristics are as follow:

- The Constitution of the State of New York stipulates with some detail policies for preparing and approving the budget. State law is much less explicit about budget implementation and oversight. Clearly, overall budget responsibility resides with the Governor and his staff in the Division of the Budget. Therefore, the Governor's view of the role of higher education in the state to a large extent determines how it fares in the overall allocations.
- The technical preparation of the budget would suggest that it relies on objective standards (categories, formulas, etc.) that are applied uniformly and fairly irrespective of the targeted population. A historical examination suggests something quite the opposite. Political byplay of the moment determines the formula or guidelines used in any fiscal period. Such "objective standards" will emerge or get discarded depending on the prevailing political climate at a given moment.
- While the budget requires legislative approval, the role of the New York State Assembly and Senate is largely reactive to the Governor's proposal. The technical assistance available to the legislature is limited in comparison to the Governor's office and is largely confined to the Senate's Finance Committee and the Assembly Ways and Means Committee. There is a movement underway to enhance the technical support of the legislature.
- In spite of legislative limitations in the budget process, the Governor must take into account legislative disposition in order to get his proposed budget approved. The budget becomes, in fact, more a reflection of prevailing opinion than it is of need. Since the budget is the result of unequal and competing interests for finite resources, how rationales for allocations unfold become crucial.

In higher education, choices frequently get characterized as a dichotomy between access and quality.

- The budget process is a year-long cycle which changes and adapts to underlying economic cycles. It is more inclusive and decentralized during periods of prosperity. The Legislature is more active in the planning and preparation of the budget with ideas and proposals solicited from programs and departments by way of the executive or legislative branches of state government. During periods of economic decline, the planning and decision-making concentrates in the executive branch. Ideas are discouraged and limitations are set from the top. Legislative add-ons are seriously curtailed.
- The budget process, in fact, reveals something about the participatory nature of U.S. democracy. It is highly managed and controlled- favoring some sectors of the state's constituencies over others. The New York State Executive Budget is an annual publication acclaimed for the quality of its presentation. Most of it is a straightforward and readable multi-volume document aimed at public consumption. Yet, it masks a very limited public discussion of its contents. The round of consultations in preparation of the budget is limited to invited participants only. Sectors that are seriously underrepresented, less powerful and unable to underwrite the costs of an effective voice in the State capitol have limited access to the budget process at this stage.
- Many observers note that the preparation phase of the Executive Budget is the most crucial stage of the process. Typically, the Governor's proposal is able to withstand substantive modifications by the legislature. Yet, public debate is invited when presented to the legislature when the process is close to the end. This is the moment of intensified lobbying where waves of interest groups orchestrate and descend on the State capitol to argue their case with individual legislators. Public hearings on the budget are limited to a day or two. For groups of limited means, the frustration that ensues tends to discourage future participation since the returns or results are so meager.
- On campuses, faculty have traditionally had a prominent role in formulating academic programs. Translating programs into budgetary allocations creates an inherent tension between faculty and campus administrators. While there is a prevailing assumption that faculty have institutional interests at heart, many administrators argue that the primary interest of faculty is to their

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discipline and their own concerns. The roles of faculty groups (faculty senates and unions) needs further exploration. Even less is known about how tensions between the traditional and emerging academic programs get manifested in decisions about allocations and expenditures in faculty bodies.

- Unlike primary/secondary education, higher education is seen as a privilege rather than a right. This view prevails despite the increasing educational requirements needed in the world of work.

Emerging Response: The CUNY Lawsuit

Many of the above mentioned issues are key components of the law suit launched in February 1992 by a group of CUNY faculty, staff, and students against Governor Cuomo and other state officials challenging funding disparities between comparable programs in its two state university systems --City University of New York (CUNY) and State University of New York (SUNY).

In the fall of 1991, CUNY's full time student enrollment was 67% minority as compared to 15% for SUNY. CUNY's Office of University Relations reports that in 1990 approximately half of the student population had incomes under $22,000 and were not living with their parents, sixty-six percent were working, and that one out of four students were raising children. Few could afford the tuition, room and board costs of the State University of New York.

According to the newsletter published by the CUNY Concerned Faculty and Staff, the five principal charges are:

- CUNY and SUNY have a vastly different racial/ethnic composition since CUNY's minority students can not afford to live away from home.
- When considered in terms of full time equivalent students for comparable programs, the State has underfunded CUNY senior colleges by more than half a billion dollars since assuming full fiscal responsibility in 1982-83.
- Tuition scholarships and fellowships for graduate students at CUNY are only one sixth of those at SUNY. This has had a devastating impact on the ability of minority students to pursue the PhD degree.
- Graduate education, in general, at CUNY is grossly underfunded compared to SUNY.
- The Associate Degree programs at New York City Technical College and John Jay College of Criminal Justice are treated differently than at SUNY (since the state supports such programs

in SUNY senior colleges but not in these overwhelmingly minority CUNY colleges).

In initiating this case, CUNY plaintiffs stress:

"...All our schools need more money. Equity for CUNY should not come at the expense of SUNY. But we do call upon the state to honor the commitment that the state made to the City University when it assumed fiscal responsibility for its senior colleges..." (CUNY Coalition of Concerned Faculty and Staff 1992).

This is perhaps the first such law suit in a northern state following on the heels of higher education lawsuits in Mississippi (U.S. v Fordice) and Texas (LULAC v Richards). The suit is spearheaded by an inter-racial, inter-ethnic coalition of faculty (from adjuncts to distinguished professors) and students (from different levels of study) representing a wide diversity of disciplines. Support and acknowledgement of the case is increasing as the plaintiffs prepare for the first court hearing. Some observers of the budget process maintain that the lawsuit has slowed, for the moment, further reductions of CUNY's budget.

Future Strategies

One may say that, for Latinos and other groups, the 1960's were years of struggle and opening of new routes to social advancement; the 1970's were years of harvesting some fruits of that struggle; the 1980's brought fierce attacks against our gains matched with changing economic conditions; the 1990's so far, are showing the consequences of that retrenchment. Will the 1990's also show a renewed struggle, a revitalized Latino response?

Over recent years, annual pilgrimages to the State capitol by CUNY students, faculty, administrators, and unions failed to forestall serious incursions into the budget. In addition, CUNY students viewed changing policies as repeated assaults on their ability to remain in school. Appeals and lobbying escalated to annual protests on the many campuses of the university. The tensions that ensued along with characterizations of the CUNY student body as rabble added further to the declining confidence in the CUNY system. Clearly, new strategies were called for and hence, the lawsuit was a step in that direction.

The chain of events suggests specific strategies used to contain and

reduce the size of the university. In the series of policies put into place, the most vulnerable populations, students, were targeted first. Within the student population, specific groups appear to be disproportionately affected, i.e. African Americans, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans. By and large, faculty and faculty senates were slow to respond to these changed directives. More recently, policies are having a direct impact on faculty (as in the reorganization proposed by the Goldstein Report) and the response has been quick and angry (PSC/CUNY *Clarion* 1993). Tensions between the university faculty and the administration have reached an all time high. In addition, the university has moved to enact critical decisions at points in time when it is difficult to mobilize a response as in inter-session or the summer recess. Clearly, different strategies call for different responses. Minority faculty along with others concerned with successful outcomes for excluded communities need to assume a stance of vigilance and a more informed proactive response.

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Latinos and the College Preparatory Initiative

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Del dicho al hecho hay un gran trecho.
...refrán puertorriqueño

Introduction

On April 27th 1992, a College Preparatory Initiative (CPI) was announced by the City University of New York (CUNY) as a way to strengthen the educational experience of students entering the CUNY system from the New York City public schools. This declaration by CUNY's Board of Trustees culminated an intense year-long, university-wide debate as to the impact this proposal would have on the growing population of African Americans and Latinos entering the City University (CUNY Coalition of Concerned Faculty and Staff, 1991-1992). Proponents of the CPI saw it as a solution to the distressing dropout rates of students in CUNY. Opponents feared that

This report was prepared by a Working Group of the Latino Commission on Educational Reform. It is part of a larger report presented to Public Schools Chancellor Ramón C. Cortines and the New York City Board of Education in March 1994.

it would add to the already formidable array of obstacles students encounter in seeking a college degree. CUNY's CPI received the full endorsement of New York City's Schools Chancellor, Dr. Joseph A. Fernández and New York State's Commissioner of Education, Dr. Thomas Sobol.

The College Preparatory Initiative (CPI) is defined as a long term collaboration between CUNY and New York City's public school system. Joint conferences between high school and college faculty began in 1992 to define competencies in six specific disciplines that would foster successful outcomes for students whether they entered the workforce or pursued their education. In addition, CUNY will require that entering students take courses (or their equivalent) that meet academic criteria not unlike those required for the New York State high school Regents diploma. These requirements, to be phased in between September 1993 and 2000, are:

4 units of English
4 units of Social Studies
3 units of Math
2 units of Foreign Language
2 units of Lab Science
1 unit of Visual or Performing Arts
---
16 Total Academic Units

CPI advocates point to research that shows that stronger high school preparation is associated with successful college outcomes. The intent is to send a clear message to students and their families as to what is needed for success in college. By doing so, advocates believe that the high school curriculum would be modified and strengthened. CUNY's College Preparatory Initiative, in fact, combines two of the most popular "reforms" of the past decade: increasing academic requirements and school/college collaborations.

The Framework

On the surface, the Initiative appears to be a bold effort at addressing a national concern. Opinions from every part of the political spectrum have long recognized that most students are graduating with less than an optimum education for today's world. The CPI comes on the heels of a recurring national debate concerning the declining quality of education. "Raising standards" or "increasing expectations" is the solution most often proposed as a way to improve

educational outcomes (Rudolph 1977). Approximately 45 states have adopted some version of adding specific course requirements for high school graduation, making this one of the most prevalent reforms of the 1980's. It is ironic that, as states were propelled to increase student requirements, governmental support of education deteriorated.

It should be noted that "raising standards" has meant different things to different groups and at different points in time. In some instances, "standards" referred to the need to improve the condition of the schools. This focus is on the availability of service: as in the competence of teachers; a range of relevant academic and support programs; reduced class size; more appropriate space; and minimally sufficient equipment and supplies. This implies an investment of resources comparable to what occurred after World War II and during the Sputnik debates of the 1960's. In other instances, "raising standards" meant "upgrading" what a student needs to take. This vision suggests much less public investment by placing the onus of the change on the individual student. It is a popular reform during fiscally conservative periods. Indeed, "increased standards" as the responsibility of the student has been and remains the predominant thrust of the College Preparatory Initiative. Dr. Robert A. Pickens, Chair of CUNY's University Faculty Senate and CPI supporter, summarized the CPI as a plan that "is about changing student behavior."

This focus on "student behavior" is an integral part of the prevailing view that given chronic problems- individuals should do more and government should do less. Policies of the last two decades remain indifferent to the legacy of inequality experienced by people because of their race, ethnicity or gender (Romo 1990). These very same policies resulted in a widening gap between the haves and have-nots with major sectors of the Latino communities disproportionately affected (Children's Defense Fund 1990). The corollary is that too much government is a disincentive to individuals. Hence, the responsibility must be shifted to the individual to bring about reforms.

Education has been a primary target of this view. Axtell and Mickelson (1993) state that the business community has been a major proponent of this position. Criticism from the business sector points to an inefficient school system and the loss of "family values" as key factors in the educational crisis. The authors argue, however, that this view plays down the fact that the business community played a major role in the educational crisis. It is their contention that the loss of entry level work for youth and increasing reliance on part-time/ temporary work contributes to adverse educational outcomes.

The issue of educational standards and who has responsibility for meeting them is particularly important now, because the debate for standards is taking place in a far different context than that which existed in earlier decades.

- First, going to college is no longer an option but an imperative if one is to make a livable wage. This is especially true in an economy that depresses traditional labor and overwhelmingly favors the highly skilled with more certification. Just in the last twenty years, Murnane and Levy (1993) report that the median earning power of male high school drop-outs plunged from $20,371 in 1973 to $12,990 in 1987 and median earnings for high school graduates (24-34 years old) plummeted from $24,482 in 1973 to $18,366 in 1987. On the other hand, male college graduates experienced modest increases. In addition, it is well documented that the average earnings of African Americans and Latinos remain well below all other workers. For those condemned to the economic margins, education remains a crucial avenue for generating opportunities (Rodríguez 1989; Hinojosa-Ojeda, Carnoy and Daley 1991; Morales and Bonilla 1993).
- In addition, it is now communities of color who stand at the gates of the academy. In a country with a legacy of slavery and territorial expansion, racial preference and chronic inequities endure. Any strategy proposed to reverse educational decline must confront institutional barriers as well as individual decisions. This is the case for the primary and secondary educational system as it is the case for the higher education system (Anyon 1980; Oakes 1985; Lareau 1989; Meier, Steward and England 1989; Orfield 1988; Otheguy 1990). Individual choices are very often determined by the possibilities people have before them.
- Finally, public support for education has waned. The troubled economy is a contributing factor but not the sole one. A general belief in education has diminished as a part of an overall distrust of institutions. The challenges of emerging groups, the disillusionment of a middle America and the reassertions of an elite have contributed to a climate of no confidence (Tyack, Lowe and Hansot 1984; Bulkeley 1991). Comprehensive reforms that once produced educational gains for traditionally-excluded groups are now sacrificed or often reduced to simple, low cost solutions (Reynolds 1986).

Comparative studies of five states that implemented higher graduation requirements for students in the early 1980's suggest that we

must examine proposed reforms within a broader context (Wilson and Rossman, 1993). While there were changes in the high school curriculum, the impact on high school dropout and tracking patterns was inconclusive and very much shaped by "...their interaction with other state policies..." We argue that other contextual factors may also affect students, including erosion of the tax base for public education and inequities in funding. We are also extremely concerned in the New York instance with the dearth of teachers and support staff trained in science, math, bilingual education, counseling, and multicultural understanding.

* * * *

Let it be clear from the outset that we hold public educational institutions responsible for serving the needs of all of New York City's children. We doubt, however, that the system can carry out its mission effectively for a number of reasons. These include the fiscal problems of the city, the reported shortage of qualified school staff, the entrenched tracking systems, the absence of a student-centered curriculum, and uneven progress in integrating the diverse cultural experiences and perspectives of our communities into our schools. Given the limited scope of this chapter, not all of these topics can or need to be discussed here. The Commission's discussions of curriculum and tracking appear in the Interim Report (May 1992). A discussion of the issues related to fiscal inequities is included in another section of this report.

A Time for Concern

Some of the new CPI requirements are to take effect in September, 1993. Because this date is close at hand, it is especially urgent that concerned members of the community examine the potential impact of the CPI on the well-being of Latino and other minority students. We have already argued that much of the national debate centering on educational standards has placed the ultimate responsibility for increased educational achievement on students, who must meet "increased academic demands." We have insisted that a smaller voice in the national debate must also be heard: at the same time that students are to be held accountable, the schools must also meet higher standards for delivering effective services for all students. For example, the Interim Report of the New York State Curriculum and Assessment Council to the Commissioner and the Regents (October 1992) argues:

> *Standards for inputs and resources should assure that government agencies --States and school districts-- provide the wherewithal for all schools, in rich and poor neighborhoods alike, to offer the curricular opportunities and programs required for the achievement of student performance standards (page 15).*

Should the CPI be implemented as currently proposed? What is the capacity of the New York City schools and the City University to maximize academic success for all students? In the following sections, we examine the condition of the New York City public schools and that of the City's Latino community.

The Declining Condition of the Schools

A report prepared by Berne and Stifle (1991) documents the impact of the 1970's fiscal crisis on service delivery in the New York City public schools. There are several points in this study that are of relevance to this discussion. First, the 1976 fiscal crisis marked the beginning of an overall decline in per pupil expenditures when compared to the rest of the state. The higher costs for goods and services in the City as well as the spiraling needs of the student population continue to place New York City's system at even greater disadvantage relative to the other school systems throughout the state. The greatest hit was in personnel with a total loss of 13,039 classroom teachers and 17,246 other support staff in the decade of the 70's. In the 1975-77 period alone, the public school system retrenched 763 guidance counselors and 818 science, 763 math, 419 foreign language, 601 art, 563 music teachers. The impact of this erosion of services is rarely acknowledged but has undoubtedly contributed to the perceived decline of the quality of student entering CUNY from the public schools. The study reports that as of 1991, the school system had not been able to recover from these losses. Furthermore, the study documents that the crisis produced shortened periods of instruction, interruptions in the delivery of services to students and postponements of building maintenance. Needless to say this precipitated a decline in morale for teachers in a system experiencing record enrollments of students of color and recent immigrants.

In the Interim Report, the Latino Commission described at length the types of instructional programs and supportive services which it believes hold the most promise for offering Latino (and other) youngsters effective and appropriate educational experiences. In this section of the final report, we argue that such programs and services

are still not generally available to a large proportion of Latino and other minority students in New York City. We also insist that a very careful look must be taken at the capacity of the New York City public schools to offer Latino students the educational programs being required under the CPI before these students are subjected to a new set of standards for which they have not been prepared.

The Latino Instance

For the Commission, there is a sense of urgency that any major educational reform must be examined and monitored in light of the distressing realities that Latinos experience. Relative to other communities, our socio-economic losses are exceedingly high and the results are frightening and costly. A general profile of Latinos in the 1990's reveals "high rates of immigration and reproduction; low levels of education, high rates of urbanization, concentrated in the lowest paying jobs and high levels of poverty" (Morales and Bonilla, 1993). Poor Latinos in New York City rose from 498,011 in 1979 to 826,201 in 1990 with a substantial proportion reported as having no public assistance in 1990-91 (Children's Defense Fund, 1992; Community Service Society, 1992). Clearly, the "Decade of the Hispanic" resulted in a significant proportion of Latino families struggling with higher costs, depressed wages and reduced social supports.

According to the census figures, Latinos in New York City increased from 20% of the population in 1980 to 24% in 1990. Latinos now represent more than a third of the public school population and continue to experience a stubbornly high rate of attrition. The situation in the City University is even more precarious. Recently a comparison of Latino sub-group data between 1980 and 1988 was carried out by Pereira, Cobb and Makoulis. Most of their findings are very troubling. It appears that the percentage of Latinos in the entering class remained largely unchanged (13.5%) during this eight year period. Within that, Puerto Ricans as entering freshman declined from 14.8% in 1980 to 11.5% in 1988. Furthermore, an examination of degree attainment after eight years reveals that only 6.7% of Puerto Ricans, 6.7% of Dominicans, and 10.4% of the other Latinos received a Bachelor of Arts degree or higher as compared with 25.9% of Asians, 22.2% of Whites, 13.4% of Black West Indians and 7% of African Americans (see Pereira, et al., p. 57). The study also reports that Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and Colombians were the "least likely to enter the senior colleges as regular admits" and that Latinos were primarily clustered in the community colleges.

Although time limits our discussion to concerns about curriculum, assessment, counseling, data, and teacher education, meaningful reform requires shared responsibilities from crucial sectors that include schools, universities, government, business integrated with those of students, their families, and communities. A more comprehensive approach is critical.

Curriculum and Assessment

The members of the Latino Commission have serious concerns about the public schools' ability to provide Latino students with access to an appropriate, multifaceted, and challenging college-preparatory curriculum as well as to offer them adequate and appropriate advisement. Serious questions also remain about how educators, students and their families can know whether students graduating from New York City's high schools have been adequately prepared to deal successfully with college-level work.

If Latino students are to be successful in making the transition from high school to CUNY, the curriculum linking elementary, secondary, and higher education must be closely integrated--"seamless," where the requirements for high school graduation form part of the expectations and standards for higher education admissions. (The October 1992 Interim Report of the New York State Curriculum and Assessment Council to the Commissioner and the Regents: Building a Learning-Centered Curriculum for Learner -Centered Schools discusses an overall design for a challenging and articulated curriculum and assessment system). Through curriculum and assessment, mastery at the lower levels should be interconnected with expectations at the higher level, so that students can assess their academic progress as it relates to the functional demands of either higher education or employment. For this to happen, however, the expectations for high school graduation and college entrance must be explicitly articulated.

What should such an assessment program cover? Following the recommendations of the Curriculum and Assessment Council, it should include the full range of performances and abilities desired of students-- moving beyond recall of facts and simple analysis to critical analysis and reflection. It should include synthesis of information and integration of skills; problem structuring and problem solving; tasks involving production, imagination, and invention; and it should include different types of tests, tasks and documentation. In addition, we argue that Latino students should have the opportunity of acquir-

ing these skills in both languages and with a curriculum infused with a diversity of voices from their own communities and the communities of others.

Following this line of argument, the curriculum and accompanying assessment program in the high schools must mesh with the actual functional performance expectations the City University has for entering students. A look at the testing programs now in place suggests that the current examinations all too often do not reveal whether high school students can perform at a level which will predict academic success in college. Students now graduating high school can demonstrate subject area mastery at two levels: the minimum competency level, as demonstrated on the Regents Competency Tests (RCTs); and the college preparatory level, as measured by Regents examinations. The relationship between performance on these sets of examinations and the level of performance demanded by college-level work has never been determined, however.

Unanswered Questions

It may well be that the RCTs now measure a level which would fall below CUNY's functional performance criteria (if such criteria were developed). In fact, however, we do not know. Studies which determine the degree of curricular "match" between the mathematics RCT and the CUNY Math Test, and the writing RCT and the CUNY Writing Test should be helpful. The match between the Regents examinations and CUNY performance expectations may be better, but relatively small proportions of New York City's public school graduates now take the Regents, and no study is now being conducted to examine the relationship between Regents and CUNY skills test performance. Under current conditions, students, their families, and school personnel may find it difficult to judge to what degree students have actually been prepared for college success.

Especially problematic is the fact that, for New York City's ESL students, there is no measure of language proficiency currently in use which would predict college success. Incoming ESL students cannot demonstrate their proficiency in English on an appropriate assessment instrument or through any other type of demonstration. Those and other concerns have been voiced by the ESL Committee during the CUNY/NYC Public Schools Faculty Conference on School System Collaboration, as well as in other contexts.

In fact, there is no particularly good reason why the public school's RCTs and the CUNY Skills Assessment Tests (SKATs) should

relate substantially to one another: they were developed for different purposes and to test performance at different academic levels with no particular view to a common, underlying set of curricular objectives. The CUNY SKATs were originally developed to measure mastery in key content areas at the end of the second year of college (Otheguy, 1990). Although now used as criteria for placement into remedial courses, the SKATs were not designed to yield diagnostic or placement information, nor were they designed for LEP students. They also measure limited domains of knowledge in only two modalities, thus under-sampling students' actual abilities. The Latino Commission does not argue the utility of testing incoming students' skills and knowledge for placement purposes, but asserts that the CUNY skills tests do not do this effectively.

Counseling

National research indicates that schools serving minority students tend to offer fewer college preparatory courses, and that minority high school students across the United States are too frequently not advised to take the courses which will keep them on the "college track" (Orfield, 1988). Research indicates that many students do not know what courses they need to prepare for college, and may need encouragement to undertake a program they may feel is too demanding. The available evidence indicates that this may also be the case in many New York City public high schools. The Latino Commission's student survey (see "Student Voices" Volume II of the Interim Report) conducted in spring 1992 offered ample evidence that academic advisement of Latino (and presumably many other) students were too often inadequate. This may be attributed in large part to a system-wide shortage of counselors (particularly bilingual counselors) in New York City high schools, an issue discussed at some length in the Commission's Interim Report. The City's ongoing fiscal difficulties will make the hiring of sufficient numbers of qualified bilingual and other counselors unlikely, raising the concern that Latino students will continue to lack sufficient supportive academic counseling in the high schools.

Without sensitive and sufficient outreach, advisement and counseling, Latino students may make course selections which will make the transition to college difficult. The recent multilingual CUNY publication on the CPI is a beginning. But it assumes a level of parental literacy and in and of itself, does not address the persistent difficulties educational systems have had in engaging the working poor (Lareau

1989). We question whether there has been or will be sufficient outreach into the Latino and other minority communities to ensure that students and their families will understand the importance of academic course selection. We fear that academic counseling and advisement will also not be sufficient, and that students will suffer the consequence.

The Special Case of Limited English Proficient Student

Students who are taking English as a second language (ESL) classes in the high schools are likely to be particularly affected by the CPI. Although high schools grant English credit for ESL courses, the City University sees ESL courses as remedial, and does not grant CPI credit for them. Because of their limited English proficiency, many students in these high schools may find participation in "mainstream" content area-courses difficult, and may postpone or avoid them out of frustration or fear of failure. Because of staffing limitations and other issues, the number and range of academic content courses offered bilingually or with an ESL approach is limited in many high schools. All this suggests that LEP students may find it particularly difficult to accumulate sufficient CPI credits.

The Board of Education's Division of High Schools is recommending that CUNY grant CPI English credit for transitional ESL courses, but this has yet to be decided. On the "other side," within CUNY, LEP students have very few opportunities to take bilingual or content courses taught with an ESL approach which would facilitate their progress through the University curriculum.

Participation in College Preparatory Math and Science Courses: What the Available Data Can Tell Us

We do not know whether sufficient seats are available in the academic course sequences across the public high schools but, information has been provided to the Commission on the representation of students of varying ethnic backgrounds in advanced math and science courses ("Analysis of Students Registered in Mathematics and Science Classes in UAPC High Schools", Fall 1992). This evidence suggests that Latino students are underrepresented in sequential and advanced mathematics courses. For example, Latino students comprise 31.5% of all high school students but, they make up only 25.9% of the students in the sequential math courses, and 21.7% of the students in advanced math classes. In science, Latino students are proportionately represented in "physical science" courses and

over-represented in "other science" courses. On the other hand, they are underrepresented in what appears to be the academic sequence of courses: biology, chemistry, earth science, physics, and advanced placement science courses. They are most dramatically underrepresented in advanced placement science classes and physics, where they comprise only 7.9 and 14.8 percent of the students on register. They are also substantially underrepresented in chemistry and earth science as well (they make up 21.8% and 21.6% of registered students in these courses).

The available data also indicate that, at least in mathematics, overall participation rates in academic courses are a major issue. Most New York City high school students were enrolled in some kind of science course during the fall 1992 (219,512 out of 237,728 students in the academic and vocational high schools). At the same time, however, only 124,373 students were enrolled in an advanced or sequential math course. If we consider this as a proportion of only academic and vocational high school student, only slightly more than half of the students were enrolled in college preparatory mathematics courses in the fall of 1992. This by itself suggests that New York City high school students as a whole are still not enrolling in essential mathematics courses, and we can infer from the data that this situation is particularly acute for Latino students. The overall available data suggest, then, that Latinos are underrepresented in the college preparatory curriculum in math and science.

The Urgent Need for Better Data

We do not know if the reason(s) for students not participating in the college preparatory courses is because courses are not offered bilingually, or the courses are not offered in sufficient numbers for students who want them, or whether students are being steered away from these courses, or whether the cumulative effect of participating in a watered-down curriculum prohibits these students from taking anything other than "fundamental" or "business" mathematics courses. As yet, statistics have not been published as to the numbers of academic courses offered (or seats in those classes) relative to the number of students who might want to take them. The slow process of implementing consistent course codes across the high schools has added to the confusion. All these are important questions which must be addressed with concrete and specific analysis of the data to which the system already has access.

The Commission therefore recommends:

- Given the diversity of the Latino communities, it is critical that Latino sub-group data be generated to more accurately assess and target different needs and outcomes (Olivas 1992).
- Data should be generated on the availability of seats in academic courses in each content area in each high school.
- The number of seats offered in bilingual or ESL content classes should also be reported, in proportion to the numbers of students in each school of limited English proficiency.
- Review of the data should precede any further phase-in of the CPI in order to determine that student access to the college-preparatory curriculum is sufficient.
- The Board of Education should conduct an on-going review of the provision of academic counseling, particularly in languages other than English, to students in need. This includes publication of counselor-student ratios for LEP as well as for English-proficient students, by school.

Another major area of concern is the success of those Latino students who do take college preparatory courses. While this information is collected by UAPC (University Admissions Processing Center) in the form of student records, no analyses have been released to the educational community in New York City. If Latino students are not successfully mastering the college preparatory curriculum when they do have access to it, students will continue to struggle in college, or will be discouraged from attending. In all, access of Latino students to the college preparatory curriculum and success in these classes remain areas of concern.

- The Latino Commission recommends that phase-in of the CPI policy not be complete until these data are available and have been reviewed closely by the Latino community and others who are concerned with the impact of the policy on Latino and other minority youth in New York City.
- In addition, CPI phase-in should link student requirements with the minimum standards each intermediate and high school will be expected to meet in order to fulfill their responsibility to students. Schools which do not meet these standards should receive special attention by joint committees of community, university and Board of Education personnel that include traditional programs, current interdisciplines (ethnic studies, bilingual education, women's studies, urban studies) and teacher education.

- To date, the CPI design and faculty participating in the collaborative discussions have focused in on the traditional disciplines which have resulted in severe underrepresentation of Latino voices. The CPI design and collaborations must infuse the discussions with the expertise and experiences of Board of Education and CUNY faculty who are dedicated to the needs of Latino and other students of color. This includes programs in bilingual education, ESL, and ethnic studies. Community based organizations working on the grass roots level must also be engaged in working with parents and families. Finally, the CPI design should not lose sight of the significant correlation between art, music and physical education and mastery in the humanities, social and natural sciences.
- Too little attention has been paid to the important role that extra-curricula activities can play in reinforcing learning in the classroom. Students from low income families do not have access to the array of activities available to most middle class students and families. The few programs available can serve to augment the in-school experience only if done creatively and in a way that affirms and challenges our youth. Clearly, more such programs are needed.

There is a real need to monitor the progress of the schools in preparing students to meet the increased academic demands of the CPI. In addition to the indices of course availability already recommended, the Latino Commission suggests that several new tables be added to the High School Profiles, supplemented by a set of detailed citywide tables which would be made available upon request. These tables should include:

- The proportions of students of varying ethnic backgrounds enrolling in "CPI" courses at various grade levels.
- The proportions of students passing those courses at various grade levels by ethnicity.
- A profile of graduating students' credit distributions, indicating to what extent they met the requirements of the CPI.
- These tables should be made available on a city-wide basis, upon request, for Latino and other students by home language and ethnicity/country of origin.

Teacher Education and the CPI

While the College Preparatory Initiative forges ahead, it is not clear that the universities which prepare most of the New York City's

teachers are adequately responding or prepared to respond, to the need for pre-service and in-service educational personnel for programs, models, and training addressing the complexity and diversity of the Latino, African American, and Asian populations in New York City public schools.

CUNY's Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Academic Program Planning (12/2/92) states that in Fall of 1991 only 34 students in CUNY were majoring in mathematics education programs (7-12 grades), only 5 were majoring in physics (7-12 grades), only 5 in chemistry. The report recommends that CUNY colleges strengthen their recruitment efforts in programs designed to prepare math and science teachers at both the primary and secondary levels. In addition, there is a need for bilingual teachers in these areas since close to half of the children in the schools have English-as-a-second language and/or are recent immigrants. Approximately, 133,000 students in New York City's public schools have been designated as limited English proficient and are therefore entitled to bilingual education/ESL. Moreover, the report from the Board of Education's Chancellor's Working Group on Science Education (1992) addresses the lack of role models for children of color. Only 10% of biology teachers, 7% of chemistry teachers and 5% of physics teachers in New York City's public schools are racial minorities. They go on to say that:

> *Viewing these statistics against projections that 85% of the net entering workforce by 2020 will be people of color, females and immigrants starkly points out the critical need for teachers who most closely represent the students they teach.*

There have been conversations in this area and there are federal, state, and city sponsored scholarships and loans to support in-service and even some pre-service programs. However, the far-reaching national reforms in education and in teacher education specifically proposed over the last ten years have yet to have any real impact on the quality of educational outcomes in our most affected schools.

It is not the intent of this Commission to add to the laundry list of courses and requirements for all "mainstream" elementary and secondary school teachers. Rather we suggest that specific approaches, given the needs of Latino youth, must be evaluated and implemented where found appropriate. Our concern with teacher education does not focus only on the bilingual and English as a second language teachers but on the education and development of all teachers in the

New York City school system whose lives are intertwined with those of our children.

Education Reform: Who Benefits?

In excerpts from her study of national leaders' perceptions of major educational reform policies, the Director of the Institute of Curriculum, Students and Technology at George Washington University, Mary Futrell, states:

> *Although the national leaders believe that there may be more standardization of the curriculum and, perhaps, more centralization of the public education system, they do not necessarily believe the implementation of these reforms will dramatically improve the quality of education for all students, especially minority students and students in poor districts. The surveyed leaders agreed that board-certified teachers will teach at all academic abilities. However, they did not believe that these teachers will be employed in poor school districts. Nor did they believe that ethnic minority teachers and teachers from low-income districts would tend to be board certified. If these findings become reality, the instructional disparities within the educational system could widen.*

All indications are that Latino students for the most part are not represented in large numbers in the specialized academic schools or in alternative programs experimenting with educational reform where faculty and students interact, sharing their research ideas as well as their concerns about their futures. For example, the Latino Commission on Educational Reform cites in its volume of "Student Voices" that Latino students make up only 4% of the enrollment at Stuyvesant High School and 9% at the Bronx High School of Science. At the same time, Latinos are seriously overrepresented in segregated, overcrowded schools and special education programs.

The Need for Information

Chancellor Reynolds has publicly stated that phase-in of the CPI will be based on implementation data from the high schools. New York's education community needs to know whether the public schools have developed the capacity to offer successful college preparatory educational experiences for our students. We need to know whether Latino--and other--high school students have access to required academic courses, i.e., that sufficient seats are available. We

need to see if Latino students actually enroll in these courses, and if they do, whether they master the course content successfully. Unfortunately, although the school system collects raw information to address these questions, it is not routinely analyzed or reported.

What Is Needed

In light of the discussion of some extremely important topics, the Latino Commission recommends the following:

- The instructional program in high schools and entry-level programs in CUNY need to be articulated around a curriculum sequence which links the educational outcomes of instruction in the intermediate and high schools to the educational requirements of higher education. While the CPI design now has such a structure in place, it has not included the strengths, needs and visions of the Latino communities. Latino voices from the high schools and colleges are seriously underrepresented in the collaborative discussions.
- The testing program needs to be similarly articulated, and expanded to include other types of assessment of student abilities. The testing program must provide useful information about students' mastery of the range of skills necessary for college success. Without this information, neither colleges nor students have an accurate assessment of the knowledge and abilities which students bring with them.
- Until such curriculum and assessment programs are in place, assessment of incoming students for placement and granting of CPI credit should allow students to demonstrate competency in relevant areas through means other than the CUNY Skill Tests. Demonstrations, performances, and exhibits of work would be appropriate, and would be a much more valid assessment of the abilities of students.
- A key to successful school/college collaborations is public and private "third party support" (Hawthorne and Zusman 1992). This necessitates a commitment in action as well as words. The 1980's was distinguished by a substantial withdrawal of federal support for equity issues. In addition, states, by and large, have treated their urban (minority) public schools and universities less favorably than their suburban (largely white) counterparts. The fact that New York State has been unable to come to terms with inequities in funding for its largest school district (New York City) and its City University system does not bode well. In addition, it

is significant that CUNY's 1993-94 request for an additional 1 million for collaborative programs (which includes the CPI) was not supported by the Governor's Executive Budget during the very fiscal year that the CPI begins implementation. Latinos must have improved articulation between the schools and universities to penetrate the global economy. State and federal policies must be redirected to facilitate this.

Summing Up

The CPI has been touted as expected to "positively affect the retention-to-graduation rates of undergraduate students" (The CPI: What It Is and What It Is Not, 1993) The University clearly feels that the more academic units students have achieved by the time they enter CUNY, the better they will perform on the Freshman Skills Assessment Tests (FSAT). The expectation is that as the results on the basic skills improve, "there will be fewer remedial courses needed".

There are certain assumptions implicit in these assurances, however, that may not be based on reality. Most significantly, CUNY states that with "early academic and resource planning and good student advisement... completion of CPI expectations should not delay the students' program in high school" (1993:31). Such planning and advisement, however, may be a luxury in many schools where guidance counselors are already overworked. While New York State recommends a ratio of one counselor for every 250 students, in 1992, the average New York City high school counselor was responsible for 355 students (New York Times, October 20, 1992).

Further, while the University has stated that the limited resources of public high schools is an "acknowledged reality" that has been taken into consideration in the design of the CPI implementation timetable, there is still room for grave concern. For instance, non-lab sciences like General Science, one of the two science courses in which most Latinos are enrolled, will be considered appropriate for college credit for the first two years of the phase-in period (1993:30). Afterward, however, there is an expectation that there will be enough laboratories available in our high schools for all students to enroll in a laboratory science course, an assumption for which we have yet to see a factual basis given the chronic financial limitations faced by the New York City public school system.

The Commission acknowledges the efforts made to offer activities designed to develop increased intercultural sensitivity in counselors, as well as the Board of Education's dropout prevention programs-

Project Achieve and Project Achieve Transitional Services (PATS). The continuing shortage of available counselors and the sparse available data suggest, however, that access to the academic curriculum continues to be limited for Latino students, especially in the key area of mathematics. This again suggests that the impact of CPI requirements on Latino students is likely to be particularly severe.

America
understand
once and for all
we are
the insides
of your body
our faces
reflect
your future

Francisco X. Alarcón
"Letter to America"

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Editors' Postscript to "Latinos and the College Preparatory Initiative"

In March 1994, the CUNY administration announced an increase in the number of African American and Latino students entering the university with more academic math and science courses completed in the high schools. They attributed much of this improvement to the implementation of the College Preparatory Initiative. Many on the frontlines of the educational community (parents, teachers, advocates and community leaders) received the news with a great deal of skepticism. CUNY's statistical reports were considered too general to capture what was happening to students from inner city schools. That disbelief was compounded by the University's failure to articulate and mount a comprehensive teacher-training program aimed at New York City's most vulnerable youth. In addition, the fiscal and political pressures on Public School's Chancellor Ramón C. Cortines continued to mount as he sought to strengthen the educational programs for New York City's children.

Our criticism of the College Preparatory Initiative does not oppose improved academic standards. We need to improve standards in terms of teacher training, the physical condition of our schools, availability of support services, updated material resources, and stronger linkages to parents and communities. Along with higher expectations of our students, we need an enriched curriculum that is more than the "back to basics" approach. The diversity of our student population and the world in which they will live in the next century requires miltilingualism and multiculturalism. Vulnerable populations require policies that recognize and value their social and cultural

context and that are comprehensive in addressing chronic problems. Comprehensive policies acknowledge and address the multiplicity of factors that can lead to improvement and achievement for communities at risk. To focus on only one aspect of the problem is to plant the seeds of failure.

The measure of any success must be gauged by the collective ability to improve the educational practice in our worst schools. This position was affirmed at the 1994 conference of the American Association for Higher Education. A panel of the Association's Education Trust stated that poor Latino and Black children begin first grade already 6 months behind; by the third grade they are a year behind; by the eighth grade they are two years behind; and finally, if they persist to the twelfth grade, they are three years behind. They attribute this not only to family poverty but also to the realities these students find in their schools. All too frequently, our schools continuously face declining resources, poorer quality of curriculum, more inexperienced teachers, etc. The cumulative effect is that poor Latino and African American youth begin with less, get less, and end up with less.

In New York City, the students in many of these schools are overwhelmingly of Puerto Rican, Dominican and other Latino origins, as evidenced by a recent report of the New York State Education Department. In the 1992-93 school year, Latino students increased to 36% of the New York City public school student population. However, these Latino students constituted 55% of the population attending schools designated as the lowest performing schools and requiring state monitoring of the declining quality of instruction. Our political leadership, our public school system and our communities bear critical responsibility in addressing and changing these conditions. The City University of New York must also play a pivotal role in this process. CUNY must broaden its share of responsibility, given its historical linkage and mandate.

Contributors

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The **LATINO COMMISSION ON EDUCATIONAL REFORM** was established by the New York City Board of Education in 1991 after the issuance of the 1991 Cohort Dropout Study which revealed that more than one in four Latino students who entered New York City schools were not graduating. Chaired by Board Member Dr. Luis O. Reyes, the Commission, composed of a total of 33 Puerto Rican/Latino leaders representing government, education, community organizations, corporations, parents and students, was charged with making recommendations to help the Board fulfill its commitment to the more than 355,000 Latino children attending the New York City schools.
On May 10, 1992, the Latino Commission presented to the NYC Board of Education and former Chancellor Joseph Fernández an Interim Report: *Toward a Vision for the Education of Latino Students: Community Voices, Students Voices*. The final report entitled *Making The Vision a Reality: A Latino Agenda for Educational Reform* was presented to the NYC Board of Education and current Chancellor Ramon C. Cortines on March 23, 1994. The chapter on the College Preparatory Initiative is included as part of this volume.

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